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## The Moral Order of the World in Ancient and Modern Thought.

By Alexander Balmain Bruce, D.D. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 440. Price 7s. 6d.

THERE is a certain melancholy interest attaching to all posthumous works, and to none more than to the volume whose title is above. It is the last public utterance of one who, both as teacher and theologian, occupied a most distinguished position as a leader of thought, and whose recent death is lamented by a wide circle both in this and other lands. Those who were privileged to enjoy acquaintanceship with the late Professor Bruce, knew him as one who combined in a rare degree the most fearless and uncompromising love of truth with a simple-hearted evangelical piety. By those who only knew him through his writings he must ever be justly considered as one in whom an exceptionally great endowment with the critical faculty was tempered by practical wisdom and sound judgment, one who was never carried away by imagination or by the love of novelty and who realised better than most contemporary writers of his school the true relations which exist between scientific theology and religion. Although the church to which he belonged is peculiarly rich in prominent men of a similar stamp, yet even in it Professor Bruce's death has made a gap which 'it will be difficult, if not impossible, adequately to fill.

The contents of this volume formed the substance of the Glasgow Gifford Lectures for 1898, and in one respect they mark an epoch in the series of volumes of theological discourses which the Gifford bequest has called into being. By the terms of the will, lecturers are bound to disregard (in the sense of not attaching any special weight to them), any writings

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which profess to be parts of an authoritative revelation. This has led many, if not the majority, of the lecturers to ignore the specific teachings of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, or at least to refer to them only incidentally. Professor Bruce, in carrying out the strictly logical order of his programme, has not followed this leading, but has taken as his central thought the clear demonstration that the one ethical system which fits in with all the phenomena of the moral world is that founded on the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth.

The general scheme of the lectures is a survey of the views held by typical leaders of thought belonging to different ages and nations concerning the moral order of the Universe. The types are well chosen, and are sufficiently diverse to be representative of the whole range of human thought-ancient and modern. Among the former he has taken—of Orientals: Buddha, Zoroaster, Job and the Hebrew Prophets: and of Occidentals: the Greek tragedians, the Stoic philosophers, and those who professed to declare the purposes of God by divination and oracles. Among modern authors he has taken a wide selection: Browning, Benjamin Kidd, Huxley, Sheldon, Mill, Arnold, etc., types of the different schools of ethical and social philosophy. In his comprehensive sketch of the various conceptions of the moral order of nature, as set forth by this cloud of witnesses, it is not hard to see that in the judgment of the lecturer the central place is occupied by the teachings of Our Lord; in Him we find the synthesis of the ethical instincts, desires and expectations of East and West, of Old and New.

With Buddha the moral order is an impersonal conception which ignores rather than denies the existence of a moral governor. The nature of the individual sentient being is causative alike of the physical and the moral order of things. In human life pain and sorrow are the greatest of evils, and are inseparable from the conditions of life—being the fruits of desires. They can therefore be annihilated only by the annihilation of desires; therefore, the highest good, which is the absence of evil, is attained by self-repression carried to the point of the absolute extinction of all personal desires.

Man has, so far, the control of destiny: that it rests with him to carry out this programme.

The philosophy of Buddhism is complicated by its agnosticism; that which the Egyptians called the bá or the Platonist the immortal soul, is unknown to the Buddhist, with whom the soul is a sequence of mental states without any substratum. But the system requires that the evil consequences of desires must work themselves out in a way which experience, if limited to the individual life, shows that they are not so worked out; therefore the belief in transmigration is an ethical necessity for the coherence of the system, it being always understood that what is transmitted is not the soul in the Pythagorean sense (as far as that can be apprehended) but the Karma or character resulting from the reaction of the moral conditions of the life of the individual. The idea of this transmigration may have arisen from the observance of hereditary resemblances, and the inference that these must be due to the transmission of some common factor. However impersonally Karma may be defined, it is in some sort a personal entity which demands another life in which to bear its fruit.

Buddha's reform sprang from a conviction of the ethical failure of the pantheistic Brahmanic system coupled with a pessimistic interpretation of human life. It is a gospel of despair, teaching that birth is the penalty of sin and that every one must be, by self-repression, not his own saviour but the saviour of those infinitely remote, potential descendants who will never come into being, because he who might have begotten them has at last obtained absolute victory over all emotion. Such a system is by necessity atheistic, for it would be impossible to conceive its coexistence with a personal moral governor, and especially with one whose power makes for righteousness, such as the ethical character of the system would require.

The dualistic system associated with the name of Zoroaster was the fruit of a still earlier reformation movement arising on the outskirts of the old Brahmanism. According to the older pantheism, everything both good and evil emanates

from Brahma, but as the ascription of the origin of evil to a being mainly beneficent was repugnant to the intuitive moral sense, the conception of a double system of rulers was a simple method of dealing with this radical problem of the origin of evil. But Professor Bruce is right in saying that dualism is far older than Zoroaster, and probably had its origin at an early period as the outcome of a nature-worship. The contemplation of such contrasted conditions as light and darkness was probably its source, certainly we find the Gods of light and darkness in Egypt, Set and Horus, in conflict a thousand years before the era of Zoroaster.

In the form in which dualism appears in the Avesta there is apparently a tendency to monotheism, Ahura Mazda being the Divine Sovereign, to whom the evil influence of Angro Mainyush is certainly subordinate. Yet it is true, as Professor Bruce indicates, that the failure of Zoroastrianism to establish itself as a world-religion was largely due to the fact that it degenerated into a polytheism in which the ethical element became extinguished under a load of ceremonials. This was only indirectly the result of its dualism, for we have had dualistic theories recurring from time to time, such for example as Manichæism and Satanism. probable that a subsidiary form of dualism has arisen from a henotheistic antagonism on the part of one nation to the gods of another, whom they considered to be the originators of evil. Thus Baalzebub and Moloch became with the Jews merged into the general idea of Satan.

The classical conceptions of the moral order of nature are expressed in ancient times most fully by the poets; in later days by the philosophers. It has been pointed out that, while the former used the mythical elements of their religion as part of the machinery of their plays, they for the most part discriminated the purer and more rational ethical element for the non-moral fable. In this analysis of the works of the playwrights of successive ages a progression has been noted. Thus Æschylus treats the myth reverentially as being in itself productive of serious religious emotion. His ethical system is also simple; with him retributive justice follows evil

doing. By Sophocles the myths are treated poetically: the artist has a high estimate of the power of his art, and recognises in his ethical system the mystery that sometimes the innocent suffer and the guilty escape. He is less of a theologian than his predecessor, and makes artistic use of this inexplicable factor in the moral order of things. Euripides treats the mythic element critically, even sceptically. He recognises more fully than his predecessors the power of his art to evoke lofty emotions, such as the influence of love as a factor prompting to self-sacrifice for the sake of the one beloved. No longer is moral evil hereditary, as it was with Æschylus, or suffering necessarily either punitive or disciplinary; it might be voluntarily incurred from altruistic motives. Professor Bruce gives a qualified approval to the hypothesis of Lightfoot that in the idea of Providence, which we find in the writing of the Stoics, there are traces of Semitic influence affecting a Hellenic stock. The Stoic idea of moral order is, like the Buddhistic, ethical and individualistic, but differs in being optimistic in tendency. have the same essential features of inwardness. To the good nothing is really evil, for the evil there is no real good. Events are external to the individual mind, which may rise by training to enjoy an atmosphere of peace. With some of the Stoics, there was also an agnosticism comparable with that of the Buddhist. The wise man does not need a God, but God heeds not the fool. With others, such as Epictetus, the general fatherhood of God over evil and good was an article

Stoicism is independent of revelation, but the common instinct of humanity demands some voice from God for guidance: hence arose the most primitive form of revelation, that of auguries and omens, man demanding that God should so order conditions that were fortuitous that they might be taken as guides for conduct. But the God of the diviners does not work by orderly method or by universal law; consequently, as belief in an all-wise Providence ruling by equal and universal laws grows, faith in divination dies.

In the section on the Hebrew prophets, Professor Bruce

lays stress on those elements which were distinctive of their message—the high ethical standard—righteousness being the keynote. This when strongly emphasised became the weakness of the system, as they thereby exalted justice at the expense of mercy, and in their interpretation of the ways of Providence attached too much value to outward good and evil.

Professor Bruce devotes an interesting chapter to the ethical system underlying the story of Job. This is one of the most suggestive and important sections of the book, travelling over and in some points expanding the features of the book which have been so forcibly expounded by Davidson. The three lines taken by Job's friends indicate three aspects of the moral problem. Eliphaz tests this by experience, Bildad by the voice and testimony of antiquity, and Zophar by dogmatic assertion. The first Job treats argumentatively, the second sceptically, the third contemptuously. The message of Elihu, that suffering may be purificatory as well as punitive, Professor Bruce treats as of the essence of the book, not as an accidental accretion.

The last voice from the ancient world is that of Christ. He teaches that good and evil may come to men irrespective of character; some of the best may suffer, but the suffering is in itself overruled and becomes the cause of joy. God is our Father and is magnanimous in a way that we in our littleness and ignorance cannot understand. God's Providence is reasonable and benignant, and gives us reason for an optimistic belief that there will ultimately be a strictly just retributive justice.

With the mazes of modern thought, and the multiplicity of shades of modern opinion, Professor Bruce deals in an equally suggestive manner. He takes Browning as a typical optimist among modern poet philosophers. His message to the age being that God is love; that pain elevates by eliciting sympathy; that morality is the highest good, to the perfection of which progress by conflict is a necessity. Evil is the foe man must fight, and is a necessity, in order that there should be the struggle out of which man rises purified; there being

a moral ideal as an ultimate goal after which all ought to strive.

In certain modern schools a form of dualism has been revived, not that between personal good and evil powers, but between the impersonal forces of the tendency to evolution and the intuitive striving after an ethical ideal. This is the antinomy between evolution and ethics expounded by Huxley, which becomes a kind of Manichæism with the author of "Evil and Evolution".

The conflict between human reason and religious instinct, between reason and the will of God as set forth in documents professing to be revelations, or between reason and the tendency to social evolution, has been very variously formulated, each author who has touched on the subject having his own specific form of heresy. With most of these writers the statement of the case on the part of reason is usually unfair and far less adequate than was the treatment of reason by the later Greek dramatists. With these various forms of dualism Professor Bruce deals in a strong, simple and conclusive fashion, pointing out among other things that in almost every instance the case for Christianity is misstated and that, however mediævalism and sacerdotalism may be opposed to reason, the Christianity of the Gospels when fairly set forth is not so.

It is strange how closely the two modern dualisms approach each other—the agnostic conflict of reason and evolution, and the Judæo-Christian Satanism, which when carried out to its fullest extent relieves man of responsibility and convicts God of impotence. In both cases the freedom of the human being as a moral agent, and the capacity of the human reason to rise above mere selfish and individualistic considerations are demonstrable facts which are usually ignored in the controversy. In the Christianity of the New Testament the change in heart and motive which accompanies the acceptance of Christ's salvation is a factor of which none of these modern philosophical systems take note.

The book is worthy of the man. Its lecture form has necessarily caused the author to treat his subjects as broad

and strong outline sketches rather than as detailed and finished studies, but it is probably the more interesting to the general reader on this account. Here and there we imagine that we can detect traces that the complete review was interfered with by the painful and distressing malady which so sorely tried his later days and was so nobly borne. It will be studied with affection and reverence by all those, and they are very many, who hold his memory sacred.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

### Naturalism and Agnosticism.

(The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen in the years 1896-1898.)

By James Ward, Sc.D., LL.D., Professor of Mental Philosophy and Logic in the University of Cambridge. London: A. & C. Black, 1899. 2 vols. 8vo., pp. xviii + 302; xiii + 297. Price 18s. net.

"I TAKE it for granted," says the author, "that till an idealistic (i.e., spiritualistic) view of the world can be sustained, any exposition of theism is but wasted labour." accordingly set himself "to discuss in a popular way certain assumptions of 'modern science' which have led to a widespread, but more or less tacit, rejection of idealistic views of the world". With only a slight qualification of the "popular" (for the book will be popular with the people who are interested in the subject) this is exactly what the author has done. It is altogether to misjudge his argument to ask whether he has proved the existence of God. He has dealt only with certain philosophical preliminaries: but these he has treated in the most comprehensive and luminous manner. Probably no more powerful argument has appeared for an idealistic view of the world—for the primacy of mind—since the time of Lotze. With Lotze, indeed, Professor Ward has many points of resemblance. Like him he made his mark first as a psychologist, and like him he shares the interests of the man of science without confusing the scientific point of view with that of philosophy. It is needless to say, therefore, that not only is there no quarrel with 'science,' i.e., with knowledge, but also there is no quarrel with 'the sciences,' i.e., the systematised bodies of knowledge regarding special departments: though there is much to be said concerning the scope and significance of scientific principles. "assumptions" hostile to idealism are "no part of the general body of the natural sciences, but rather prepossessions that, after gradually taking shape in the minds of many absorbed in scientific studies, have entered into the current thought of our time," and are now represented by a combination of the theory of Naturalism with the theory of Agnosticism. The older Naturalism was materialistic: its modern form refrains from all dogmatic pronouncements about ultimate reality, and draws a sharp line between the knowable and the unknowable: science being, of course, restricted to the knowable, which is the region of appearances or "phenomena". This change is due to the influence of Agnosticism. But the theory maintains its earlier character by the contention that scientific laws are "ultimately and most clearly to be formulated in terms of matter". This last statement might perhaps be taken to represent the position of the modern form of Naturalism-agnostic Naturalism, as it might be called. But every careful reader of the acknowledged exponents of the theory-of Huxley, Tyndall, or Mr. H. Spencer—must have felt that his authors seem to find this a position of unstable equilibrium, and that their standpoint oscillates between the naturalistic and the agnostic. "We may know where we are," says Dr. Ward, "when matter is spoken of throughout as an objective fact, or throughout as a mental symbol, but it is bewildering to find it posing in both characters at once." In several places in these volumes Dr. Ward calls attention to this peculiarity, and rakes the favourite positions of his antagonists with a fire of well-directed criticism. In these lively interludes the author has done a real service to the cause of clear thinking. They serve too to relieve the strain of a somewhat severe argument and to put the reader in charity even with the confusers of standpoints.

Does science then lead to Naturalism, agnostic or otherwise? This may be said to be the question which Dr. Ward proceeds to examine: first, dealing with the *real* principles of science to which the "unity and completeness" of the naturalistic scheme are ascribed; and secondly, dealing with it "formally, as knowledge, in respect, that is to say, of its postulates, categories and methods".

The former inquiry, which occupies more than half the book, deals with the "three fundamental theories which are held to be primarily concerned in the unity of nature: the mechanical theory, this comes first, and 'determines all that succeed'; the theory of evolution, which essays in terms homogeneous with this to 'formulate' the development of the world, society and man; last, the theory of psychological parallelism, dealing with the relation of body and mind".

We must distinguish between mechanics, or dynamics, and the mechanical theory of the universe. The latter has however grown out of the former, and the successive steps by which an abstract mathematical theory has come to lay claim to the explanation of the totality of the real may be read in the first and most elaborate part into which these lectures are divided. It is difficult to sum up in a few words the argument by which Dr. Ward at once elucidates and refutes this claim; and no summary could do justice to the powerful impression which the argument is fitted to produce, whether it be judged as a sustained effort of reasoning or as a masterpiece of literary exposition. The leading points in the argument may, perhaps, be stated as follows: In the first place, Analytical Mechanics, or Abstract Dynamics, is professedly an abstract science: it does not deal with perceptional realities, but with conceptions formed by intellectual abstraction, which have no more exact correspondence with reality than the absolute space or perfect straight lines or circles of geometry have with our experience. The progress of dynamics has resulted in a gradual modification of these conceptions to adapt them best to mathematical treatment. In this way even the conceptions of Substance and Cause have been supplanted. Mass is defined as quantity of inertia, while Force drops its old causative meaning on being defined as the direction in which and the rate at which the motion of a body changes. Objection, indeed, has been made to this extrusion of Causation from dynamical science, as if it meant the banishment of cause from Nature; but the objection is The question is one of method; if Causation is lost an equation is gained: its mathematical character allows the symbols of the science to give a simpler and more comprehensive description of phenomena. But from first to last it is symbolic, an elaboration of conceptions, not an account of reality.

This is only made clearer when Mechanical principles are applied to actual phenomena—in what Dr. Ward calls Molar Mechanics. There it is clear that the application of mechanical conceptions to fact is only approximate: there are no uniform masses, no perfectly rigid levers, no constancy of temperature or gravitation, no perfectly accurate measures of any kind to be had. It is clear, therefore, that Molar Mechanics is "throughout hypothetical, and absolute or unconditional mechanical statements concerning the real world are therefore unwarrantable". Further, the various qualitative differences of material phenomena—chemical, thermal, magnetic, etc. - are disregarded by Mechanics and handed over to Experimental Physics. At this point, however, Molecular Mechanics makes its striking contribution to the completion of the mechanical theory of Nature, by its interpretation of all these qualitative differences among phenomena in terms of molecular motion. The interpretation is, of course, as yet incomplete. But even as a working hypothesis it is significant. "A science which at the outset is simply formal and quantitative seems in the end to yield the ideal of concrete physical existence, what Kant might have called the omnitudo realitatis of the physical world; and this becomes, for those to whom the physical world is primary and fundamental, the supreme and only omnitudo realitatis that science can ever know." But conceptions cannot thus shake off the traces of their origin: abstractions do not cease to be abstractions by being expressed on an infinitesimal scale. On this point a few sentences may be quoted to summarise the author's argument :-

"The process of analysis up to the stage of the chemical or physical molecule, though hypothetical and indirect, may be regarded as *real* analysis; and had the hypothesis of extended molecules proved adequate the mechanical theory might, so far as science goes, have held its ground. Extended, solid, indestructible atoms have always been the stronghold of materialistic views of the universe. But, unhappily for such views, the hard, extended atom was not equal to the demands which increasing knowledge laid upon it. Then, as we have seen, encouraged by Newton's essentially descriptive conception of distance-action, the old atom shrank up gradually, surrendering all its extension, rigidity and elasticity till it became identical with the entirely formal conception of analytical mechanics, that, viz., of a mass-point as a centre of But this later analysis, though still hypothetical, had no longer any conceivable physical counterpart. . . . There was no rest for the old atom till it took this ghostly form of a mass-point, and thenceforward it was a mechanical fiction pure and simple. Lord Kelvin's brilliant hypothesis of vortexatoms, if regarded as an endeavour to resuscitate indestructible and extended atoms as realities, and to provide a medium for their interaction, must be pronounced a failure too. Boscovich resolved the palpable atom into an idea; Lord Kelvin seems to attempt the converse and far harder feat of calling back this atom from a 'vasty deep' so dangerously like pure being as to be, phenomenally, pure nothing. . . .

"The mechanical theory of the universe, then, begins with abstractions, and in the end has only abstractions left; it begins with phenomenal movement and ends by resolving all phenomena into motion. It begins with real bodies in empty space, and ends with ideal motions in an imperceptible plenum. It begins with the dynamics of ordinary masses, and ends with a medium that needs no dynamics or has dynamics of its own. But between beginning and end there are stages innumerable; in other words the end is an unattainable ideal. . . . The story of the progress so far is, then, briefly this: Divergence between theory and fact one part of the way, the wreckage of abandoned fictions for the rest, with an unattainable goal of phenomenal nihilism and ultraphysical mechanism beyond. Nevertheless, there are many who hold that the world must be such a mechanism, because they imagine themselves unable to conceive it otherwise."

From first to last, so far as I can judge, there is no flaw

in the argument, which appears to me to be the most striking contribution to the theory of science which has appeared for many years. And it determines much that follows in the discussion of cosmic evolution and of psychophysical parallelism. On the former, space will not permit me to dwell. It seems evident that if the mechanical theory cannot claim to be an explanation of the existing universe it will be unable to trace its genesis. But those who are interested in Mr. Spencer's heroic attempt at a complete philosophy in terms of matter and motion will find in these pages a criticism of it which leaves nothing to be desired and nothing more to be said. Perhaps it would have been well if more than a lecture could have been spared for Biological Evolution. For here, at last, we are face to face with concrete facts; and here too the conceptions employed by the specialists are still in need of elucidation. 'Adaptation,' for instance, and 'Selection' are obviously conceptions borrowed from human methods, and the epistemologist has to scrutinise every line of the biologist's reasoning to discover whether and in what way these terms imply that idea of purpose or guidance which always accompanies them when used concerning the handiwork of man. His work is not rendered easier by the fundamental disagreement among biologists regarding the scope of Natural Selection, and the complex array of hypotheses with which Dr. Weismann supports his view of its "all-sufficiency". Dr. Ward contends that teleological metaphors lurk everywhere in these speculative constructions. ever this may be, it is clear that conscious purpose is present somewhere in the course of development, namely, in the higher animals—at least in man. The question is, where does it come in? In this connection Dr. Ward re-affirms his well-known view of reflex action as secondarily automatic, that is, due to purposive action having become perfect through practice and thus automatic. The facts which may be cited in favour of this view are numerous and striking enough; but it may surely be doubted whether they are sufficient to support a theory of the origin of all reflexes, including animal instincts, from purposive action.

Dr. Ward's argument leads him even further than this, to a position which, it must be admitted, has many attractions for a psychologist. He will not allow that life is a middle term between inorganic matter and mind. Wherever there is life there is mind. For this view I do not think there is any good reason except the difficulty of saying where else mind could come in; and to this due weight must be given. He brings out in a convincing way the unique function of life in conserving itself and antagonising the disintegrating effect which the environment tends to exert upon the organism, and which it soon succeeds in producing when life is gone. Life invokes a self-conservative Without attempting to penetrate into 'minds' far different from our own in the organic scale Dr. Ward gives as the two distinguishing marks of mental action: (1) Self-conservation, and (2) Subjective (or, as he also calls it, hedonic) Selection - a principle to which he had previously drawn attention in his Psychology. That this latter is present in the animal world (or at any rate in large reaches of it) is apparent. Most Darwinians lay stress on the importance in development of Sexual Selection; and Sexual Selection is simply one form of Subjective Selection. But is there any evidence that this second factor is present in plant life as well as in animal life? Dr. Ward contends that there is. Thus he says, in one of those picturesque passages which abound in his writings, and which betray the born naturalist: "Take the passengers on a coach going through some glen here in Scotland: in one sense the glen is the same for them all, their common environment for the time being. But one, an artist, will single out subjects to sketch; another, an angler, will see likely pools for fish; the third, a geologist, will detect raised beaches, glacial striation. or perched blocks. Turn a miscellaneous lot of birds into a garden: a fly catcher will at once be intent on the gnats, a bullfinch on the peas, a thrush on the worms and snails. Scatter a mixture of seeds over a diversified piece of country; heath and cistus will spring up in the dry, flags and rushes in the marshy ground; violets and ferns in the shady hollows: gorse and broom on the hilltops." Man, birds, and flower seeds are all represented as displaying subjective selection. But surely only through oversight. The two former are certainly on a level. Angler and bullfinch equally pursue each his own interest; but the violet seed scattered on dry ground does not seek the shady hollows, nor the gorse leave the marshes for the hilltops. The seeds remain where they fall, and if the ground does not give them the nourishment they need they die. Here it is natural selection which is at play, cutting off the unfit. I do not assert that natural selection accounts entirely for the growth of the seed into a plant: it is obvious that its operation is negative and not positive. But I see no ground for attributing subjective selection to the seed, in any sense in which subjective selection means more than self-conservation. Self-conservation does imply activity which tends towards an end. This means purpose, perhaps, but not necessarily a purpose of which the organism is conscious. I cannot agree with Dr. Ward that feeling, as well as activity, is always and necessarily involved in self-conservation. The point is, however, not essential to the main argument. In both plant and animal life there is purpose, activity directed towards an end; and in both this teleology is internal, not external like the purpose of a The difference is that in the plant there is no evidence for asserting that the purpose is conscious, that the activity is determined by feeling.

The theory of psychophysical parallelism is the next topic, and the different forms of the theory are reviewed: Clifford's doctrine of 'mind-stuff'; the 'two-aspects' theory; and the theory of 'conscious automatism'. The first is dismissed as a wild speculation, without inner coherence or intelligibility. The second, maintaining invariable correspondence along with absolute causal independence, is shown to be logically unstable. It tends everywhere to ascribe primacy to the material series rather than to the mental, and thus to pass into the third form—the theory of conscious automatism. That this last theory is a necessary pendant of the mechanical theory of the universe is obvious. If

reality is reducible to the movements of mass-points no room is left for mind as a factor in the world. Whether as thought or as volition, consciousness can be nothing but an "epiphenomenal aura" of a material system organised in a particular way. The inadequacy of this view to account for the plain facts of experience is brought out by Dr. Ward in trenchant language. And its futility is seen when we remember that the mechanical theory is but a system of abstract conceptions whose purpose is to co-ordinate and describe the perceptions of conscious beings. "Man is not the impotent shadow of Nature as thus shaped forth, but this shaping is itself the work of mind."

It is in this section that Dr. Ward's own striking contribution to the solution of the philosophical problem begins to appear. But the way for it has still to be cleared by the examination of the formal principles on which "modern science" This is done in the fourth section of the work entitled "Refutation of Dualism". In the dualism which divides the universe into two diverse reals called mind and matter he sees the original error from which the mechanical theory of reality with its attendant illusions has sprung. Descartes himself was the author of the mechanical theory as well as the originator of the dualistic hypothesis in modern philosophy. But, in his view, mechanism stopped short where consciousness began; and to explain their connection in perception and in conation he and his successors made many unsuccessful efforts. The theory of conscious automatism was put forward as a development of the Cartesian position, and it solves his problem by the easy method of pronouncing the facts which puzzled him to be illusions, and one half of his universe to be merely the shadow of the other. But the Dualism of science has its roots in the Dualism of common-sense. The "plain man" too speaks of Mind and Nature as two diverse sorts of existence; and it is this cherished distinction which Dr. Ward seeks to resolve into a monistic view by his doctrine of experience as a unity and experience as the real. Whatever our final philosophy may be, it must begin with, and be built upon, individual experience. VOL. X.-No. I.

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And in that experience there is no dualism, but the "duality in unity" of subject and object. These two factors of reality cannot be sundered. Nor, in this process of experience, can the objective factor claim to be the 'paramount power'. Just as in life we have found a self-conservative impulse antagonising the disintegrating forces of the environment, so in mind—which is life conscious of itself—we find a subjective selection of the interesting elements in the 'presentational continuum' determining the formation of perceptions and thoughts with a view to satisfy the interests of the conscious life. In this connection the author brings out the truth, now more and more generally recognised by psychologists, that knowledge is dependent upon practical needs and interests. But in the development of theoretical knowledge this subjective reference comes to be disregarded, and what is common truth for all intelligences is spoken about as independent of any. It is by means of the social factor that this result is brought about and dualism arises. Here the doctrine has points of resemblance to the theory of the external world as a construction of the social consciousness which has been set forth by Dr. Ward's successor in the Gifford Lectureship. But our author's aim is different from that of Professor Royce, and approached in a different way. It is through "inter-subjective intercourse" - through the individual's gradual assimilation of his own experience to the experience of others—that an universal experience, common to the race, is formulated and set over against the concrete experience of the individual subject. This belongs to psychology; with that the natural sciences are concerned. The two are contrasted as respectively subjective and objective; and, forgetting that universal as little as individual experience is intelligible without the subjective factor, our thought lapses readily into the dualism which regards mind and nature as two independent realities. The very important and original epistemological inquiry which elucidates this position must be passed over, however unwillingly. Any attempt at a summary would rob it of its interest. And a few sentences must be spared for the fifth and last part of the book, entitled "Spiritualistic Monism," in which the author's own philosophy is set forth.

It is not enough to refute an incorrect theory by showing its inner contradictions and mistaken constructions. It can be finally supplanted only by putting forward a view which gets nearer the truth. And to do this is the aim of the three concluding lectures. In these Dr. Ward is occupied much more with Agnosticism than with Naturalism; but this is only the preliminary to his own construction. He has to show that the view of reality which has been already indicated is sufficient for the purposes of science as well as in the interests of idealism. It must be capable of supporting both a philosophy of nature and a spiritualistic interpretation of the world. To give a satisfactory account of natural law has been a fundamental difficulty of idealistic theories, at any rate since Descartes marked off from one another the realms of nature and spirit; and there is much to excuse the suspicion with which such theories are often regarded by men of science. Impressed with the fixity of natural law they are disappointed with the arbitrariness which Berkelev found there; while the à priori constructions of Schelling or Hegel seem presumptuous and even blasphemous to men who have spent their lives in patient investigation of facts. The presumption has long since disappeared from idealistic writers. The modern English Hegelians, at least, have been, if anything, too eager to accept the latest and least verified generalisations, not of science, but of scientific men, and to restrict their own energies to polishing what remains to them of the 'other side of the shield'. The characteristic of Dr. Ward's discussion in this connection is that his epistemology enables him not only to vindicate scientific principles—if these were in need of vindication—but also to show their scope and meaning. The Uniformity of Nature would be meaningless except to a continuous and uniform subject. The primacy of the subjective factor in the selection and purpose which build up science as well as individual experience is in no way inconsistent with uniform law; it is its explanation. In this sense teleology underlies mechanism, and at once justifies and limits it. As Dr. Ward puts it: "The conception itself of this systematic unity and invariable conformity to law . . . is teleological, is a means to an end, knowledge itself. It is of the nature of a hypothesis or postulate, and differs from other hypotheses or postulates relating to objective reality only in the fact that it underlies them all. . . . The conception of Nature, then, as a system of laws, is, we must say, hypothetical; since it is not self-evident, but admits of question and awaits verification. But it is an indispensable hypothesis or postulate; for without it scientific experience is impossible."

Dr. Ward has amply and admirably fulfilled his purpose of clearing away the obstacles in "modern thought" which are hostile to idealistic views of the world. With regard to the method and principles of his own constructive effort, I am so much in agreement as to be a poor critic. But he would be the first to admit that much still remains to be done to consolidate and complete the structure. He no more than any other thinker can escape the secular problem of the One and the Many; and there are indications that he is fully aware of this, and that his last word on the question has not yet been said. Indeed, as it stands, and so far as definite argument goes, the concluding section of his work might almost be entitled "Spiritualistic Pluralism" instead of "Spiritualistic Monism". The actual title is significant because it gives point to suggestions which are not wanting that the final solution cannot rest with Pluralism. In tracing the origin of the Dualism of matter and mind, he has also brought out the way in which the individual assimilates his own experience with that of others, and rises to the universal experience of science. For the purposes of psychology and of epistemology there is no other discussion of the subject which seems to me to compare with this in value. But from the metaphysical point of view much remains to be done. These separate individual experiences with which he begins-rightly, as I think, as a question of method—are not scattered throughout existence like "stars shot madly from their spheres," but must form a system, a

unity. Their mutual intercourse, and the society and the science which result from that intercourse, are rendered possible only by an underlying identity or similarity of nature which betrays identity of origin. "The intellect," said Kant, in a famous sentence which Dr. Ward quotes with approval, "makes nature, but does not create it." Even the "universal" experience of science leaves much unexplained; but philosophy cannot rest short of the attempt to conceive an ultimately real experience which leaves nothing out of its account. "From a world of spirits to a Supreme Spirit is a possible step." The difficulty is not to take the step, but to describe and understand the way.

It is impossible to close this review without congratulating the author on the permanent contribution he has made to English philosophy. The work is full of suggestions of striking originality and insight, and of many brilliant incidental criticisms. These have been passed over in order to bring out the main argument. The work is much more than an examination of the Mechanical Theory of the world and its attendant theories of life and mind. But in that respect it is complete. Prof. Huxley has said that "the consciousness of this great truth," by which he means the doctrine of conscious automatism, "weighs like a nightmare upon many of the best minds of these days". If these "best minds" of our day will study Dr. Ward's pages they can be confidently promised a pleasant awakening from their troubled dreams.

W. R. SORLEY.

### A Short History of Free-thought: Ancient and Modern

By John M. Robertson. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 447 + xv. Price 7s. 6d. net.

It is no easy task that Mr. Robertson has set himself in this volume. He has interpreted his subject in a wide sense; and he has not attempted, in any way, to confine himself to the limits prescribed for the historian. Every chapter of his book is written with a view to modern controversies, and in the hope of dealing a blow pro ara et focis. The result is that his "Short History" is really an enlarged pamphlet putting the case for "Free-thought" from numerous points of view, and scoring every possible point, however trivial and "cheap," in a manner which suggests the platform debater rather than the impartial historian. We do not, of course, raise any objection to Mr. Robertson's book on this ground; but it is well, at the outset, to premise that we are dealing, not with a patient attempt to investigate into the place of "rationalism" in the history of thought, but with a vigorous controversial plea for Free-thought, written from a historical standpoint.

Mr. Robertson's early chapters are those to which, in all probability, the majority of his readers will take least exception. He has collected a number of facts and opinions from works on anthropology and on the religions of India, Persia, and China, from which he makes certain deductions. He makes no claim to first-hand acquaintance with the subjects, but the summary of recent investigation is painstaking and constitutes the most useful portion of the book. The inference derived from this survey is that "there is an inherent tendency in all systematised and instituted religion to degenerate intellectually and morally, save for the constant corrective activity of Free-thought"—a conclusion based upon a dogmatic statement that "the religious person is as such less intelligently alive to all problems of thought

and conduct than he otherwise might be," and upon the assumption that every form of change in religious life is a form of Free-thought. The fact is that Mr. Robertson is playing with words. If "Free-thought" is to be taken in its etymological sense, then it is simply equivalent to progress, and his argument is sheer tautology. 'Progress in religion comes from-progress.' If Free-thought means something like atheism (and in this sense Mr. Robertson constantly uses it), his argument rests, in the main, on an assertion by Professor Max Müller, that "the religion of Buddha was from the beginning purely atheistic". Mr. Robertson constantly uses the term "Free-thought" in two senses. He defines it on p. 5 as "a conscious reaction against some phase or phases of conventional or traditional doctrine in religion". Such a statement as this is so wide as to be practically meaningless. To-day it would include almost everybody, and Mr. Robertson abandons it entirely in speaking of current affairs, e.g., when he tells us, on p. 413, that "almost all of the leading writers of the higher fiction are known to be rationalists" (a word which he has used almost interchangeably with free-thinkers in a narrower sense). Elsewhere, too, he modifies it, as when, on p. 250, he argues that the Reformation was a form of Free-thought "only in a very broad and general sense".

The Old Testament is dealt with on the basis of an unqualified acceptance of the suggestions put forward by the most advanced critics, leading to the conclusion, stated as unquestionable, that "the cult of Jahweh was . . . a finally successful tyranny of one local cult over another" (p. 72); and even the higher critics themselves are thrown overboard when need is:—"From the scientific point of view, finally, the element of historical prediction in the prophets is one of the strongest grounds for presuming that they are in reality late documents. In regard to similar predictions in the Gospels (Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 2; Luke xxi. 20) rational criticism decides that they were written after the event. No other course can consistently be taken as to early Hebrew predictions of captivity and restoration; and the

adherence of many biblical scholars at this point to the traditional view is psychologically on a par with their former refusal to accept a rational estimate of the Pentateuchal narrative." On "argument" of this nature, comment is scarcely possible. The chapter on "Free-thought in Greece" states a number of recognized facts, but is chiefly remarkable for its estimate of Aristotle. Mr. Robertson admits that he was "in some aspects the greatest brain of the ancient world," but "unhappily his own science is too often a blundering reaction against the surmises of earlier thinkers with a greater gift of intuition than he, who was rather a methodiser than a discoverer" (p. 118). It is difficult to read sympathetically opinions on Greek and Roman philosophy which emanate from an attitude of mind that can patronize Aristotle.

In dealing with "Ancient Christianity and its Opponents," Mr. Robertson takes occasion to deal with "wide discrepancies" in the Gospels. We cannot better exemplify the fibre of Mr. Robertson's arguments than by stating some of these. Our Lord's companionship with publicans and sinners is incompatible with His retort to the Pharisees: "If ye love them that love you, what reward have ye? Do not even the publicans the same?"; the general insistence that the Messiah is of the Davidic line, with the question "If David then calleth Him Lord, how is He his son?"; and the proclamation of a Gospel for the poor and the enslaved with the absence of any attempt to overturn the whole foundations of existing society at once, by a campaign against slavery. (pp. 146-7.) "Such variously serious discrepancies count for more than even the chronological and other divergencies of the records concerning the Birth, the Supper, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection, as proofs of diversity of source." If this is so, the task of apologetics is considerably lightened. As in the case of the Old Testament, the whole argument is based upon an unquestioning acceptance of very doubtful points, without even a hint that any reply is possible (e.g., "the Judaic epistle of James" (p. 150), "the spurious epistles to Timothy" (p. 151), and the statement, on p. 146, that "it is admitted by all open-minded students that the events in the [Gospel] narrative are in many cases fictitious even when they are not miraculous".)

We pass over Mr. Robertson's account of the Middle Ages, and proceed to deal with some points in his treatment of more modern times. His statements about the attitude of the Reformers to toleration are, in the main, impossible to question; but is it really worth while to elaborate such a universally admitted thesis, which, after all, is useful for his purpose only as permitting a display of personal bitterness? A stronger protest is, however, necessitated by such a sentence as this: "Scottish intellectual development had, in fact, been arrested by the Reformation, so that save for Napier's Logarithms (1614), and such a political treatise as Rutherford's Lex Rex (1644), the nation of Dunbar and Lyndsay produced for two centuries no secular literature of the least value, and not even a theology of any enduring interest" (p. 319). Yet the period between 1560 and 1760, selected by Mr. Robertson for this wild comment, is a period which in secular literature covers Drummond of Hawthornden, Arthur Johnston and the Latin poets, James Thomson, Robert Blair, John Arbuthnot, Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, Tobias Smollett; the historians, Calderwood, Spottiswood, Baillie, and Bishop Burnet; and in science, Colin McLaurin, the Gregories, and the Monros. And will any "open-minded student" say that Scottish theology of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is "of no enduring interest," including, as it does, the letters of Samuel Rutherford; the controversial work of Alexander Henderson; the three Forbeses, whose books are still theological classics; the saintly Leighton; the younger Scougal, whose Life of God in the Soul of Man gave the first impulse to the English religious movement of the eighteenth century; and, in addition, later divines like the Erskines and Blair and John Brown of Haddington? We are sorry to have to print a list of names, but Mr. Robertson's statement is so precise, and it is so characteristic of the tone of the book, that we cannot forbear to notice it. Finally, the treatment of Freethought to-day necessitates some mild protest. We do not intend to quote names to place alongside those which Mr. Robertson claims, rightly or wrongly, for Free-thought. But is it true to say that "in England, as on the Continent, the bulk of philosophical activity is now dissociated from the Christian creed," or that "the few remaining Churchmen of high literary standing, as Bishop Stubbs and Bishop Creighton, rank as simple historians, not as thinkers?" Or is it just to mention, among recent literary workers in Scotland, only the late Professor Drummond? And could any recognised Christian apologist agree that "the works of Mr. Drummond, Mr. Benjamin Kidd and Mr. A. J. Balfour are the most prominent pleas for Christianity put forth in England in the last twenty years," and that the historian has done his duty by apologetics when he has mentioned these?

Mr. Robertson's book is careful; his references are accurate; and he has amassed a number of statements which, without throwing any original light whatsoever on their subject, are convenient for purposes of reference. To the itinerant lecturer, on either side, the book will be invaluable. But as a serious contribution to the history of thought, it stands condemned by its own bitterness and lack of any sense of proportion or of fairness, and by its unfounded generalisations. It is the work of a man whose ability and interest are so entirely controversial as to prevent his attaining even moderate success as an historian.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

- Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane; Essays on the Relation of Monuments to Biblical and Classical Literature.
- By S. R. Driver, D.D.; Ernest A. Gardner, M.A.; F. Ll. Griffith, M.A.; F. Haverfield. M.A.; A. C. Headlam, B.D.; D. G. Hogarth, M.A.; with an Introductory Chapter by the Editor. Edited by David G. Hogarth, Fellow of Magdalene College, Oxford, Director of the British School at Athens. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 440. Price 16s.

### Recent Archæology and the Bible.

By the Rev. Thomas Nicol, D.D. (The Croal Lectures for 1898.) Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1899. 8vo, pp. 346. Price 9s. net.

THE intention of these two essays is to show to what degree the results of archæological research may legitimately affect the views of those who, without special archæological knowledge, concern themselves with the antiquity of civilisation; and the archæological vestiges of civilisation referred to are those to be found in the geographical area from which the civilisation of Christian Europe has directly sprung—the debatable land of the near East.

The term archæology is used to denote the study of the Material as opposed to the Literary documents which have come down to us, and it is regarded as "the science of the treatment of the material remains of the human past". The definition, however, requires the explanation, which is not given, that among those "material remains" are included inscriptions, which indeed form the most important part. It seems to us that the essayists have not always kept this in view; for some of the more trenchant remarks made on the insufficiency of archæology to reconstruct the past are based upon considerations which are not applicable to inscriptions.

This ambiguity runs through the whole book, and invalidates some of the conclusions arrived at. It makes the concluding sentence of the introduction by far too strong when it is said:—

"If all the material documents of antiquity had vanished off the earth, we could still construct alliving and just, though imperfect, picture of antiquity. But were it, on the other hand, literature that had utterly perished, while the material remains of all past civilisations survived everywhere in soils as fecund and preservative as the sands of Egypt, nothing of that picture could be drawn beyond the most nebulous outline. As things stand at this day, material monuments take a place, important or unimportant, in the historical reconstruction of the past according as they can be interpreted well or ill by comparison of the monuments of letters."

One has only to glance at the essays of Canon Driver and Mr. Haverfield to see how important it is, in estimating the worth of archæological evidence, to know whether epigraphy is, or is not, included under the head of archæology.

The book is divided into three portions—the first of which discusses Hebrew, the second Classical, and the third Christian Authority. The first part, which occupies about one-third of the book, consists of one essay, written by Canon Driver; the second part contains four separate essays—on Egypt and Assyria by Mr. Griffith; on Pre-historic Greece by Mr. Hogarth, the editor; on Historic Greece by Mr. Gardner; and on the Roman World by Mr. Haverfield; the last portion contains one essay by Mr. Headlam.

Canon Driver's essay on Hebrew Authority is perhaps the most attractive for the general public, for it treats of matters which are of very wide-spread interest, and it may be taken as the general answer which the Higher Criticism, as represented by the eminent Oxford divine, has to make to the recent attacks of Professor Sayce and other archæologists. It is distinguished by wide knowledge, clear statement, and skilful marshalling of facts. It begins with a short résumé of the archæological and anthropological researches of the last half century, and draws the general conclusion that

these discoveries have had as their result to show that the Hebrews did not occupy a unique and isolated position in antiquity, but were related to and dependent on the kindred civilisations with which they were surrounded. The secular institutions of the nation, their social usages, their codes of civil and criminal law, even the material elements upon which their religious system itself was based, have such substantial analogies with the corresponding elements of civilisation among kindred nations that they cannot be looked upon as determined in every feature by a direct revelation from Heaven. What remains unique are the spiritual intuitions and experiences which are fused into all their traditions, laws and usages.

To illustrate this Canon Driver selects special instances bearing on the Pentateuch (ch. ii.) or on the period of the Kings and after (ch. iii.). Under the head of the Pentateuch he takes such things as the account of the creation, the institution of the Sabbath, Eden, the Deluge, and so on. One instance will suffice to show his method.

He takes the cosmogony in Genesis (i.-ii. 4) which he says "for sublimity alike of conception and of expression stands unique in the literature of the world," and he compares it with accounts of the creation which have been recovered from inscriptions long buried in Assyrian and Chaldean mounds. He shows that the theological differences between the Hebrew and the Assyrian or Chaldean narratives are very great; that the one shows us a severe and dignified monotheism while in the other we have an exuberant and a grotesque polytheism; but he declares that in spite of these immense differences in religious thought "there are material resemblances between the two which are too numerous and too marked to be regarded as mere coincidences". No archæologist can question, he says, that the Biblical cosmogony is, in its main outline, derived from the Babylonian.

Then he sets himself to ask—At what time did the Babylonian elements find their way into Hebrew literature? For answer Canon Driver has to say that we may assume it as certain that the monotheistic author of Genesis i., at what-

ever date he lived, could not have borrowed any detail however slight from the crassly polytheistic epic of the conflict of Marduk and Tiamat. He therefore holds it for certain that the Babylonian myth must have been for long years transplanted into Israel; it must have there been gradually divested of its polytheistic features, and gradually reduced more and more to a simple unadorned narrative of the origin of the world, until parts of it (we cannot say more positively, he adds, at present), were capable of adoption or adaptation by the author of Genesis i. as elements of his cosmogony. In short, Dr. Driver believes that the Biblical cosmogony is derived from the Babylonian, and "comes at the end of a long process of gradual elimination of heathen elements and of gradual assimilation to the purer teachings of Israelitish theology carried on under the spiritual influence of the religion of Israel". It is for criticism, then, to inquire at what time the Babylonian myth was transported into Israelite thought; and three different periods are suggested —when the ancestors of Israel lived side by side with the Babylonians in Ur of the Chaldeans, or when the Israelites entered Canaan and came into contact through the inhabitants with the Babylonian influences which have been proved to have existed there at that time, or at the time of Ahaz when there was a good deal of intercourse between Judah and Babylon. I give this as an example of the arguments of Dr. Driver; but I confess, that granting all his facts, his reasoning does not convince me. His certainties of inference all rest on a theory of the evolution of religious ideas which is certainly much in vogue, but which seems to me not only a mere theory, but one which is contradicted by the history of many a natural religion whose stages of growth we can at this moment trace; for we can still see them grow-When Dr. Driver tells us that on the points in dispute between the traditional and critical views of the Old Testament the verdict of archæology is either absolutely neutral or else entirely in harmony with the Higher Criticism, we can only say that it must be so when both writings and archæological material are treated from an implied certainty regarding the law of the evolution of religious beliefs. The question is whether the law which is supposed to be axiomatic is to be trusted at all.

But while all this seems to me to be true, and to invalidate a great deal of what Dr. Driver and others say with regard to the Old Testament, it is impossible not to sympathise with him in some of his criticisms of Professor Savce. He has laid down a good principle when he calls attention to the distinction between direct and indirect archæological testimony. He admits that direct archæological testimony is of the highest possible value, and as a rule determines a question decisively; that even indirect testimony, when it is sufficiently circumstantial and precise, makes a conclusion highly probable; he refuses to give much weight to testimony when it is neither direct nor circumstantial; and he shows how Professor Sayce and Mr. Tomkins have continually neglected these important distinctions. At the same time Canon Driver appears to lay down propositions a little too severe in his criticisms otherwise just. He says for example: "What Professor Savce has done is firstly to draw from the monuments a picture of Palestine as it was in pre-Mosaic times, then to work the history of the patriarchs into it, and having done this to argue or imply that he had proved the historical character of the latter"; and he seems to say that what Professor Sayce ought to do to prove his point, is to deduce from direct or indirect but circumstantial archæological evidence, and evidence quite independent of the Pentateuch, that the patriarchs existed and that they were in Palestine. But surely the essence of the Higher Criticism is that a document ought to be instinct with the life of the time it depicts, and that if it can be shown to be so instinct it is to be accepted. To show that there was in Palestine a pre-Mosaic life such as is depicted in the accounts which the Pentateuch gives of the lives of the patriarchs is an independent ground for accepting the historical character of the narratives of Genesis. We do not say that this has been done either by Professor Sayce or by Mr. Tomkins. We only affirm that the test which Canon Driver insists upon is too baldly and severely stated.

The two essays of Mr. Hogarth and Mr. Gardner are well worth a very careful perusal. They illustrate the value of the three peculiarities of modern archæological research great care in collecting all kinds of material, the examination of the material collected on systematic experimental methods instead of rushing to ingenious conjecture, and the classification of material on the principle of careful comparison. Hogarth shows how successfully these modern methods have been applied to unfold to our knowledge pre-historic Greece. He describes the three great periods into which modern archæology has divided the subject, the wide area over which this pre-historic civilisation spread, the evidence for believing that there was an Ægean civilisation scarcely inferior in antiquity to that of the valley of the Nile, and the impossibility of believing the traditional view that the Phænicians were the sources of the civilisation of the countries on the northern shores of the Mediterranean. All this work belongs almost purely to the province of archæology and had its starting-point in the discoveries of Schliemann.

Mr. Haverfield's essay is not less interesting. He divides Roman history into the three periods of the pre-historic, the Republic, and the Empire. Archæology helps us with the first and the third, but gives us very little aid with the second. He shows how it has assisted us somewhat in our understanding of what Italy was before the spread of the power of the Republic; but he has failed to point out what treasures of information possibly await us if we could completely decipher the large number of Etruscan inscriptions which are still a sealed book. Perhaps no greater service could be done to our knowledge of pre-historic Italy than excavation on the southern borders of the ancient Etruria, with its almost certain result of finding one or more bilingual The pity is that excavations have hitherto for the most part been confined to those parts of Etruria which lay farthest from the Roman boundaries, and where the chance of finding bilingual tablets was smallest.

It is in connection with the Empire, however, that archæology, in the sense of epigraphy, has won its greatest

triumphs. It is scarcely too much to say that archæology has caused the history of the Empire to be re-written. Roman Empire was only half understood by the men who lived under it. Even Tacitus gives his readers a petty picture of court intrigues and palace scandal; he says nothing about the splendid machinery of government, the ideals of its greatest statesmen, the fluctuations of its trade and commerce, and all that makes the life of a great people. Archæology has disinterred the Empire belittled by its own historians. Hundreds of thousands of inscriptions, coins of all dates and places, ruins of fortresses, towns and roads have been collected and classified; and these tell us of wide Imperial plans, of wonderful local self-government, of social, religious and commercial movements which the old historians scarcely condescended to notice, and which probably they did not understand. It is only when we study the results which archæology has brought to us that we can discern how false is that view of Roman History which centres our interest on the Republic and bids us call the Empire a time of degradation. It is then that we can understand that the Rome which held the mediæval mind fascinated in its grasp was not the Republic, but the great Empire which still awaits its modern historian.

The last portion of the book is occupied by an essay on Christian archæology by Mr. Headlam. This is the disappointing part of the book, and the author shows badly beside his fellow essayists. He starts well when he tells us that the background to Christianity from which we learn most is the history, organisation and provincial life of the early Empire due to archæology; but having said this he at once passes away from the subject. We venture to think that a great deal of the earliest history of the Church must be rewritten with the aid of that archæological material which he so abruptly dismisses. To take but one example, we take leave to say that the student who henceforth discusses the organisation of the Church in the third century without including in his researches the organisation of the Imperial cult, as that has been unearthed through inscriptions, will soon be held to have missed a large portion of his material.

Apart from this, however, Mr. Headlam does not give one the idea of having mastered his subject in such a way at least as his fellow essayists have mastered theirs. The observations he makes on the value of archæological study for the history of the Christian Church, and also on its limitations, are just although commonplace; but they lack the firm touch which reveals the master's hand. Nor is there any indication that Mr. Headlam is acquainted with the extent of the work which has been already accomplished in the field he undertakes to guide us over. There is nothing said, for example, of the knowledge which inscriptions have given us of the Church of southern Egypt; nothing of the great though incidental work which may be found buried in the memoirs of the Berlin Academy. All his illustrations are taken from books commonly accessible and very well known. Nor has Mr. Headlam indicated any special lines of investigation which Christian archæology might pursue in the future. The fact is that it is not very possible in the sphere of investigation to separate Christian from classical archæology; for as Mr. Headlam truly says, what archæology gives us is the traces of the commonplace life of Christian people; and that life was in the early centuries lived among the society of the great pagan empire. If the excavator follows the advice of Mr. Hogarth and the example of Mr. Flinders Petrie and throws away nothing, and the Christian archæologist examines the finds, there is every possibility that we may have interesting information about both the private and the public life of Christians which will help to fill out the picture we should like to have. Take for example the small yellow clay lamps which are got in abundance in almost all excavations on classical sites. Has any Christian archæologist thought it worth while to get permission to go over the collections which abound? I have seen lamps with such designs as the Good Shepherd, the dove, the fish, and with short sentences, such as are common in the Christian catacombs, in the museums at Athens, in Dalmatia, and in the collections from Pompeii at Naples. Such a book as Marriott's Vestiarium Christianum suggests another line of research scarcely entered upon, but in which archæology, with its finds like the silver placque in the museum at Florence, must give great help. The spread and standing of the different parties in the Early Church might also be discovered from archæological remains. The earliest inscription declaring that a building is a Christian church belongs to the followers of Marcion. In one thing we agree with Mr. Headlam that what we must seek in Christian archæology is the history and the life of the early Christians, and that we must not enter on the subject with doctrinal or controversial prejudices. But I fear, judging from some of his expressions, that when tried by this test Mr. Headlam himself will be found wanting.

Dr. Nicol's learned and valuable work occupies the same ground as the essay of Canon Driver, and part of the essay of Mr. Headlam in the work reviewed above. The author begins by a résumé of the archæological work done in the field he intends to traverse. His plan of work is somewhat as follows. He takes the Babylonian archæology to illustrate the early chapters of Genesis and the history of the Patriarchs; the archæology of Egypt to illustrate the history of Abraham, of Joseph and the occupation of Goshen: the Tel El-Amarna Tablets and the various accounts of Hittite civilisation to illustrate the state of Canaan before, during and immediately after the conquest; the Assyrian Annals to illustrate the close of the Hebrew monarchy; and recent archæological discoveries tending to establish the authenticity of the New Testament records, especially St. Luke's Gospel.

Dr. Nicol has scarcely sufficiently attended to the fact that the general result of archæological discovery has been to draw the Hebrew people out of the condition of unique isolation which, on the traditional view, they have long been supposed to be in, and in consequence his comparisons lack the completeness which they would otherwise have had. He begins, as Dr. Driver has done, with a comparison between

the Babylonian account of the creation and that given in the Book of Genesis, but as he is not hampered by the idea that there must be a natural development of religious ideas, from a degrading polytheism through long periods up to a sublime monotheism, the marvellous differences between the two accounts does not necessarily suggest the idea to him that ages must elapse before the account in Genesis could have been elaborated from the Babylonian myth.

In his account of the patriarchal age he would certainly fall under Dr. Driver's censure, for he does what Dr. Driver accuses Mr. Tomkins and Professor Sayce of doing. Dr. Nicol does not pretend to find any mention of Abraham in the archæological records he discusses. His position is, and we think that it is a perfectly natural one, that the figure of Abraham as given in the narrative of Genesis is such a striking personality that he must have been a real man, and can never be resolved into a poetical representation of the ideal Israel in communion with Jehovah. Dr. Nicol is quite entitled to take this view. You cannot invent an Abraham; he is a real man; and critics will have no more lasting success in resolving him into a myth or a conglomeration of myths than had Strauss in attempting to do the same with the personality of our Lord. What Dr. Nicol has done then is to try to show that, given the real personality of Abraham, archæological discovery shows that the conditions amid which he is represented to have lived in the narrative of Genesis correspond with what were the social conditions of the time.

We need not follow Dr. Nicol through his arguments. The specimens we have given are sufficient to show his method. He does not pretend to have the knowledge of an expert about the various fields of archæological research which he surveys; but the book affords abundant evidence of careful scholarly weighing of facts, marshalling them in order and presenting them in a very interesting fashion. The book is one which will take its place in the department of Biblical Criticism, and we hope for more from the author.

### The Ritschlian Theology, Critical and Constructive.

An Exposition and an Estimate, by Alfred E. Garvie, M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Glas.). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 38 George Street, 1899. Pp. viii. +400. Price 9s.

THIS book bears the same title as a smaller volume published not long ago by Professor Orr, but the two need not collide. Students of Ritschlianism, doubtless, will still require to resort to the earlier work for a vast amount of detailed information drawn from a wider field of literature than the younger writer professes to cover. Let it be said at once, however, that Mr. Garvie has given us an admirable work, that his exposition of the Ritschlian theology will challenge comparison with the best published in Germany, and that his criticism, though here and there one may be tempted to think it mistaken or defective, is always that of a sympathetic expert. With wise self-restraint he has confined himself in this volume to an examination of the writings of Ritschl, Herrmann, and Kaftan, with occasional references to Harnack. And even within these limits he concentrates his attention on "the distinctive features and dominant factors" of the new theology. One noticeable characteristic of the book is Mr. Garvie's method of drawing upon the merits of Herrmann or Kaftan to compensate for Ritschl's defects, and vice versa; presumably upon the dubious principle, tacitly assumed, that on any given topic the conclusion most nearly coincident with the Christian experience normatively expressed in the New Testament is the most typical of the method common to them all, whichever of the three may reach it. He protests again and again that hitherto Ritschl has not been read or expounded in Britain with the generous and appreciative interest which he deserves; but it may be doubted whether an ardent Ritschlian would regard his own book as exuberantly sympathetic. While he rarely notices other critics of Ritschlianism save to refute them—and this occasionally with an air of judicial superiority which sits somewhat ill

upon him—the blows he himself strikes at the master or his followers are hard enough. What more could any one say in disapprobation of a theological system than that in it "God is lost in His kingdom, Christ in His vocation, the soul in its activities?" Indeed, there is hardly one of Ritschl's negations which Mr. Garvie does not vigorously question. If Professor Denney criticises Ritschl as a convinced opponent, Mr. Garvie belabours him as a candid friend.

The book opens with a historical introduction, rather heavily written, but full of knowledge and suggestion. The circumstances which rendered the theological climate favourable to the growth of some such product as Ritschlianism are rapidly and compendiously reviewed, chief among them being the prevalent distrust of philosophy, the confidence of science, and the activity of historical criticism. Mr. Garvie pleads with much persuasiveness that what Ritschl and his school are aiming at is to restate to this age in its own language the faith once delivered to the saints. And it may readily be granted that the most urgent claim which Ritschlianism has upon our regard is the function it performs, in a time of intellectual transformation, as a missionary theology to minds chiefly nourished upon science.

The main part of the book is divided into two. In Division A we have a study of the critical, in Division B of the constructive aspect of the Ritschlian system. The first of these sections is principally occupied with an exceedingly able and luminous discussion of the Ritschlian attitude towards metaphysics and mysticism. Mr. Garvie does not, as is clear from various remarks, take a high view of Ritschl's philosophical capacity, or even of his ability to state accurately the theories of other philosophers. The epistemology which he followed was vulgar realism, with occasional lapses into critical idealism. He excluded metaphysics from theology only because he wrongly identified it with epistemology. His exaggerated polemic against what he called the Platonic theory of knowledge, which he supposed to be indissolubly bound up with many orthodox doctrines (e.g., with the doctrine of original sin), seems to have prejudiced him at times against the plain dicta

of Christian experience. Throughout the course of his exposition Mr. Garvie repeatedly points out how unfortunate was the result upon his theological method, inasmuch as it led him to lay stress upon the phenomenal to the exclusion of the noumenal aspects of reality. Though Ritschl's supporters, with much justice, claim for him that he has hastened the death of speculative rationalism in Christian theology, Mr. Garvie regards his hostile criticism of the ordinary theistic arguments as unnecessarily overdriven. After all, if the world was made by God, it may surely be expected to exhibit some traces of its origin; and this Ritschl himself did not hesitate to urge against Strauss. There is a truth concealed in Herrmann's exaggerated contention that only faith in Christ can lay hold or keep hold of the idea of God; but probably it might rather be stated in the form that he who finds in Christ no evidence of God's existence and character will assuredly find it nowhere else. The Ritschlian attitude to mysticism, of which Mr. Garvie's account is full and clear, is a notorious subject of controversy. To a certain extent the question is one of words. If the characteristics which Reischle declares to be essential to genuine mysticism—(a) a Neo-platonic idea of God, (b) an abstract conception of the soul, (c) indifference to history—were kept in mind, and the phenomena of modern piety interpreted strictly in the light of them, much of Ritschl and Herrmann's fierce polemic against mysticism would be seen to be either gratuitous or inconsistent with their own principles. It is difficult to see how Ritschl's denial of the unio mystica does not involve a direct negation of the deepest element in Paulinism, which again has the closest affinities with unmistakable words of Our Lord. Mr. Garvie reproves Professor Orr, it is true, for charging Ritschl with refusing to recognise any "direct" spiritual communion of the soul with God, and argues that in any case some process of mediation must be allowed for. The crucial point, however, is to determine whether the medium is a past or a present Christ. The Ritschlians, when their language is taken in any wise strictly, appear to insist on our going round by the historical Jesus ere we can have communion with God or with the exalted Lord. Pietism or no pietism, is it possible adequately to describe St. Paul's fellowship with Christ as consisting in "accurate and copious" memory of Him? If not, Ritschl's whole case collapses. And, indeed, as not infrequently happens, after expressing dissent from the censures passed upon Ritschl, Mr. Garvie himself proceeds to state excellent reasons which make these censures inevitable (p. 150).

The second part of the book (chaps, vi.-xii.) is occupied with the constructive aspect of the system. After pointing out various defects in the Ritschlian conception of religion, and passing upon it the summary criticism that it partakes of the nature of a pathology rather than a biology, Mr. Garvie advances to the thorny problem of the value-judgments of faith. We may ask in passing whether he has sufficiently considered the hedonistic character of Ritschl's definition of a value-judgment as stated in the official passage devoted to the subject. Again, do the common Christian convictions, that God's wrath against sin is a present reality and that the evils of life are punitive, come under the head of value-judgments; and if they do, does Ritschl's repudiation of them as merely imaginary not seem to throw a shadow of doubt over faithknowledge as a whole? Mr. Garvie denies that there exists any dualism, on Ritschlian principles, between scientific and religious judgments; but Herrmann's ambiguous attitude towards the Resurrection as a historical fact (Die Religion, p. 382 ff.) seems to point to a very different conclusion. Further, it appears altogether too simple an account of the matter to say that value-judgments are merely the subjective form whose objective content is supplied by historical revelation. Revelation surely may educate the sense of value and so prove itself normative, not merely correlative. Do valuejudgments authenticate a revelation or vice versa? These are some of the questions on which a reader will naturally desire to cross-examine Mr. Garvie further.

Other chapters which may be singled out as specially important and educative are vii., ix., and x. In the first of these Mr. Garvie claims truly for the Ritschlian writers that they have done eminent service to Christian thought by

bringing theology back more earnestly than ever to the conviction that Revelation is a matter of history, the prime object of which is not didactic but remedial. He devotes several interesting pages to Herrmann's deeply religious but dogmatically inadequate limitation of Revelation, at least primarily, to the "inner life" of Jesus Christ. But, as he points out more than once, the general attitude of Ritschlianism to Holy Scripture exhibits an insufficient sense of the fact that the record here is itself organically connected with the history recorded.

Much of the suspicion of which the Ritschlian theology has been the object springs from the belief that certain of its principles—whether really foreign to its true essence or noare inimical to the Catholic ascription to Jesus Christ of inherent and essential Godhead. And all that Mr. Garvie urges in his profoundly engrossing chapter on the subject does not completely allay this fear. He assures us, indeed, that when Ritschl says that Christ has the worth of God he is neither so much the fool nor the knave as to mean that Christ is not God: but how reconcile this with Ritschl's own dictum that Christ's Godhead must be capable of imitation by us, and his complaint that the dogma of Christ's preexistence confers upon Him an incomparable dignity of which His people cannot partake? The mere refusal to enter into speculations regarding Our Lord's pre-existence would have offended no one; but what is lacking in Ritschlian dogmatics is any worthy or unequivocal recognition of the great basal thought of the New Testament that in Christ's advent from a heavenly world, and not merely in His faithful discharge of His vocation here, we have received an inestimable proof of the love and self-sacrifice both of the Father and of the Son.

Chapter x. is occupied with a searching examination of Ritschl's doctrine of sin and salvation, and here it is shown to be especially true that "while Ritschl's affirmations are often for the most part right, his denials are generally wrong". Certainly a theory which involves the utter negation of original sin, the present reality of God's wrath, and the vicarious nature of the sufferings of Christ, appears to fall considerably short not only of the teaching of Scripture, but of the verified

certainties of Christian experience. At the same time Mr. Garvie very properly reminds us that on this topic the master entirely failed to enlist the sympathy of his followers. Apart from the emphasis which he laid upon the *prospective* aspect of redemption, Ritschl's doctrine of sin and salvation can hardly be called meritorious.

After a long and exceedingly suggestive chapter on "the Church and the Kingdom," Mr. Garvie offers us his critical estimate of the system as a whole. His verdict is eminently sane and judicious. The chief merits he finds in Ritschlianism are its method, its opposition to speculative rationalism, and its hostility to unhealthy pietism. It has still to learn to appreciate Scripture at its proper value and "to think things together". Ritschlian reserve is a welcome protest against offensive confidence in the profundity of human speculation, yet reserve may be carried so far as to incur the suspicion of denial. Faith has a right to ask that its objects be completely determined.

For most purposes Mr. Garvie's book is the most useful on this fascinating subject yet published in this country. As an exposition it is entirely trustworthy; and the reader will feel that it has been written by a man of masculine and independent thought. Many of its pages show a remarkable aptitude for paraphrasing Ritschl's complex and intricate periods, and reducing their substance to language which, if anything but elegant, is at least admirably clear. Mr. Garvie's knowledge of the relevant literature is conscientious and thorough. simple desire is to commend to the interest and appreciation of this country a theology which he is convinced has a special mission to render as an apologetic to our age. And while we may remain stubbornly dissatisfied with many of the details of the Ritschlian system, yet when we remember the service it has done to Germany, its loyalty to the interests of piety, its infectious vitality and strength, its practical enthusiasm, its ardent sincerity, we cannot but anticipate its future with the liveliest good-will. But as yet its line is too short to fathom the deepest things in Christianity, and what may be welcomed as an apologetic must be refused allegiance as a theology.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

# The Ascent through Christ: A Study of the Doctrine of Redemption in the light of the Theory of Evolution.

By E. Griffith-Jones, B.A. London: James Bowden. Crown 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 469. Price 7s. 6d.

THE theory of evolution is with us, and has come apparently to stay. It has been pressed on the attention of thoughtful people from all sides, it gives us a point of view so fruitful and suggestive, it explains so many things and helps to solve so many problems, that people have accepted it—at least as a working hypothesis. It naturally occurs to many minds to look at accepted beliefs in the light of the theory of evolution. All the sciences and all the philosophies have been at work, testing their former results by this new view, and trying to ascertain whether ancient beliefs can be made to agree with it. Work of this kind is painful, and has to be done cautiously, reverently and wisely. It is one of the hardest tasks set to man to revise his beliefs, and he is apt to resent any view which sets him to such an unwelcome work. more unwelcome is the task of overhauling our beliefs, and of co-ordinating them into a rational system. To investigate our religious beliefs, to look at them as needing justification, or requiring evidence, is always unwelcome. For religious beliefs have always a peculiar sacredness, and in relation to them men are all naturally conservative. What, then, is the bearing of the theory of evolution on the doctrine of redemption? Can the doctrine of redemption live with the theory of evolution? This is the question of the book before us.

Redemption seems to be a great fact of human experience. It is a fact that bad men have become good, selfish men have become unselfish, and those whose lives were evil, under the impulse of religious motives, have attained to heights of impassioned goodness, purity and holiness. This is as well attested as any fact in the experience of man. Part of the hostility felt and expressed against the theory of

evolution arose from the persuasion that it left no room for religion in that form of it which we call Christianity. It is quite true that the theory of evolution may be stated so as to leave no room for the distinctive doctrine of Christianity, and the doctrines of religion may be so stated as to leave no room for evolution. But is it necessary that these must be stated in that mutually exclusive fashion?

Mr. Griffith-Jones has set himself to the great task of stating the theory of evolution and the doctrine of redemption, and seeks to show that there is no contrariety between them. A man may accept the theory of evolution without feeling himself constrained to deny the doctrine of redemption. From a careful reading of the book we have seen that he is competent to write of both themes. He has qualified himself by the diligent study of the great writers on evolution, and of the facts and processes on which the theory is based, to speak with intelligence on the theory of evolution and its manifold applications, and there is not the slightest doubt of his theological competence. He knows theology, and he knows the facts of the religious life. He is therefore competent to speak of the relation of these to the theory of evolution. We do not say that his work is perfect or final, or that it will supersede further inquiry, but we do say that he has done a service of great worth in showing that there is a modus vivendi, and that the old faith can live with the new.

An elaborate introduction deals with man's place in evolution. The change of outlook brought about by the modern intellectual movement is described with ample knowledge and with graphic power. The enlargement of our view of the physical universe, the transformation of our idea of time, the filling up of space and time with the grand perspective of life, and the result of these on man himself are set forth, and the disturbing effects of the successive expansions of knowledge on the religious situation are fittingly described. Readjustment is necessary; but the idea of readjustment is repellent to some. Still an attempt must be made to restate the old faith in the thought and language of to-day.

After this statement of the case, the author proceeds to

inquire, What is Evolution? Ancient and modern theories of evolution are described, and the difference between them is shown. Evolution is "a continuous progressive change, according to certain laws, by means of resident forces". The so-called breaks in the continuity of nature, in the appearance of life of sentiency, and of self-consciousness do not imply a complete failure of continuity. But the Christian evolutionist must part company with the materialist. The statement of the reason for parting company is clearly and convincingly stated and will repay attentive study.

Evolution and man is the next theme. While it is admitted that man is physically descended from the brute creation, this does not reduce him completely within that category, for there has been an arrest of physical development, natural selection has been replaced by another kind of selection, and a self-conscious rational being has appeared. Many other things of importance are said in this relation, but we do not dwell on them, as the same considerations have been often urged. What is said is said clearly and with much force, and, in fact, is as well said as possible.

The main part of the book is the attempt to look at the Bible, and at religious experience, in the light of the theory of evolution. Evolution and the Fall of Man, Evolution and the Incarnation, Evolution and the Resurrection, are the titles of the three books of which the treatise is made up. It is a long discussion, during which the author has to state and sometimes to restate the main doctrines of Christianity, and to show that these are not discredited by the wider outlook of to-day. He begins with the two accounts of creation in the book of Genesis, he passes on to the Biblical doctrine of sin. the relation between sin and death, the natural history of sin, and how a fallen race may be redeemed. In justice to the author we give the following summary of results: "We have now passed under review the chief questions that bear upon the Biblical and Evolutionary aspects of the mystery of moral evil, and have come to the conclusion that there is nothing essential to the older doctrine of Sin and the Fall of Man which the new science has made no longer believable.

Setting aside, on the one hand, a literal interpretation of the early narratives of Genesis as untrue to history and nonessential to an accurate and helpful exegesis of Scripture. and, on the other, certain crude and undigested theories of human personality and moral evil which had been identified with an evolutionary philosophy, we have arrived at a point of view which combines the essential teachings of past theology and of present anthropology into a synthesis to which each contributes its quota of truth. Man has been developed physically from the brute creation; mentally he is also akin to them; but there are unique elements of selfconscious, moral and spiritual life in him which separate him from them by an impassable chasm. He was not created with a perfectly developed nature, but with one in which the animal heritage was transformed by the presence of a spiritual factor which at its first appearance was inconceivably faint, but which was meant to grow into the dominating and determining element in his complex nature. His course, like that of every other creature, was meant to be one of gradual and steady growth. But at a very early, if not the earliest, stage of his existence as a race, he turned aside from the path of his normal development; and while his capacity for civilisation, intellectual progress, and, to a certain extent, moral growth was not destroyed, this twist in his spiritual nature proved an effectual barrier to his highest development, and reacted with fatal persistence on all the lower channels of his life; so that beyond a certain point he has never succeeded in rising to his ideal condition. History is a record of continual upward efforts, which have come to their climax only to sink into failure; and though the stream of progress has never ceased to push forwards, it has constantly had to change its course, and seek new and ineffectual lines of advance. If the story of the past has proved anything. it is that Man, individually and socially, is incapable of coming to his own; and that with an unconquerable instinct driving him forward to a fairer and nobler life, his final experience is one of bafflement and despair."

How shall man come to his own? There is no principle

of self-recovery in man. For this there is abundant evidence. and a summary of such evidence is given, and it is shown that, if man is to be restored, restoration can only come by infusion of fresh life. So there must be a revelation of the true life, and also a process of incarnation. But does not evolution exclude incarnation? This forms the theme of the second book. Modern difficulties, arising from the supposed unknowableness of God, difficulties arising from physical science, from the alleged miraculous birth, are successively dealt with, and so far overcome. At least they are overcome so far as to show that there is no presumption against the incarnation from these supposed difficulties. There is a redemptive purpose implied in the incarnation, but the meaning of the incarnation is not exhausted by the redemptive process rather to bring man to perfection is the end of the incarnation. But the redemptive process is real and necessary. Man has failed, and the mystery of sin is there, and sin must be dealt with. The atoning process begins with the incarnation, and the sacrifice of the Kenosis precedes that of the Cross. It is confessedly difficult to form an adequate theory of the atonement and sin, but science has shed light on the mystery of vicarious suffering. The weak suffer for the strong, and the strong suffer for the weak, and the good suffer for the bad, and sacrifice is real. The revelation of a suffering Saviour helps to bring God and man together. Such are the successive propositions of the discussion, given in mere bald outline, an outline which does no justice to the greatness and felicity of the argument. Then the Christ as the realised ideal of humanity is set forth, and it is shown that He cannot be classed with other men, that He must be viewed as the Ideal man. "Just as we are told that the embryo recapitulates in the preliminary stages of the individual life the whole history of the race, so we may reverently say that, in the stages of growth of the perfect life as seen in Jesus from the cradle to the Cross, we see the pathway that would have been followed by the race if, instead of falling into sin, it had retained its innocence and gone on to perfection. In that case there would have been limitations; there would have been growth; there would have been a gradual Evolution from a partial and incomplete life to a glorious and perfect one, like the growth of the bud into the flower. But there would have been no sin; and in that wide difference we have the whole story of the actual as opposed to the ideal course of man. If we study the childhood of Christ as it is scantily sketched for us, we have a picture of the true pathway that ought to have been followed by humanity in its earlier and prehistoric career; and if we study His later life, we shall see not only what we ourselves ought to be individually, but also what the race ought to be in its relations to God and to its constituent members."

We have no space to speak of the third book, which deals with evolution and the resurrection. The topics discussed are, the Risen Christ, the resurrection, a new evolutionary departure, the man that is to be, behind the veil, some final problems. We wish that we could state the position taken by the author on these interesting and important themes. We may say that they are suggestive, and are worthy of the deepest study. On the book, as a whole, we may say that it is one of the ablest, as it is one of the most opportune of those that have appeared in recent years. It is a book emphatically for the time. It speaks directly to those questions which men are asking at present, and deals with real difficulties in a real way. If there are some things to which exception may be taken, if there are statements that evolutionists on the one hand, and theologians on the other may dissent from, well, it must be remembered that this is a pioneer work, and one that will be supplemented by and by. At all events we are not disposed to criticise, still less to find fault. It is a bit of work that required to be done, and it has been done in a masterly way.

James · Iverach.

### Psychologie der Veränderungsauffassung.

Von L. Wilhelm Stern. Breslau: Preuss und Junger, 1898. 8vo, pp. viii. + 264. Price M.6.

This is the first attempt of modern psychology to give a full and complete account of the conditions that underlie the perception of change. It would be an extremely important work for this reason if it had no other claim to recognition. The treatise gains additional value from the care with which it has brought together the scattered investigations in this field and made them available for ready reference, though this service would be increased if the conclusions had been stated more definitely and with more immediate reference to the main purpose of the work.

The book is divided into two parts. The first treats the subject qualitatively—is devoted to a discussion of the nature of the problem, and its most likely solution in the light of previous discussions. The second part is quantitative in its nature, and gives a full and technical description of the apparatus, methods and results, both for the author's own experiments and for those of earlier writers on the same subject.

If we disregard the author's order of treatment, we find that the book sets for itself two main problems about which all the other subordinate ones cluster: (1) What are the psychological and physiological conditions of our perception of change? and (2) What are the effects of change in our mental life? The first question is answered satisfactorily for some sense modalities, and an indication is given that a similar answer will hold true for the others. In any case the perception of a change is a simple process and must take place in a single act of consciousness. We need not assume, however, as has frequently been done, that perception of change is dependent upon unanalysable feeling or mode of being conscious. This is only to state, not to solve, the difficulty. We can, on the contrary, in certain cases, analyse the perception Vol. X.—No. 1.

into elements that are not change, and introspection affirms that there are similar marks of change in the other senses.

At this point we must follow our author in distinguishing two ways of recognising that a stimulus has changed. One is present when the change lasts over a considerable period of time, the other applies to rapid changes. In the one category we find the growth of a child, the fading of the twilight, and the movement of the hour hand of a clock; in the other the flight of a bird, the dawn of day upon the stage, or the increasing intensity in the rumble of an approaching vehicle. For perceptions of the first form memory is needed to bring back the stages that have lapsed from immediate presentation, that they may be compared with the more The elements here involved are comparison and recognition, and a detailed treatment is given of the circumstances that favour both. For the second form of perception we can discover definite physiological as well as psychological conditions. The best instance of this kind is found in the perception of movement by the eye. This question has been exhaustively investigated by the author in an earlier publication. Here he found that the knowledge that an object is moved is derived not from its successive appearance upon different parts of the retina, but by the trail of afterimages that is left behind along the course of the movement. The sign of movement is a process, punctual in time, that is continuously present during and just after the movement. Similar marks of change are present, the author tells us, in all the senses and for all forms of change, but in no other case have they been so carefully determined. That there is this distinction everywhere is proven by the author's results in the later sections. These show that change has a peculiar effect in the production of reactions, and that a slowly changing stimulus has a higher line of difference than the discrete quantities that are ordinarily used in determining the fraction for Weber's law. Introspection also confirms this view.

The main question treated in connection with the second main problem, the function of change in the mental life, is as to the efficiency of changing sensations in arousing re-

actions and of changing stimuli in producing sensations. The starting point of the discussion is the statement of Preyer, based upon experiments with the lower animals, that only change in stimulus produces sensation. Dr. Stern points out very clearly that Preyer confused movement with sensation in this matter and that we cannot argue from lack of reaction to a stimulus to absence of sensation due to that stimulus. The standpoint is taken that we must distinguish between having a sensation and attending to the sensation, and that, while we may have reaction to what appears to be a constant sensation, it is always due to a change in the sensation dependent upon an act of the attention. we go farther back we find that an activity of the attention is possible in the last analysis only through change. So we have the general law that all activity, bodily or mental, is ultimately aroused by change.

The entire treatment of this section is marred by the loose use of the terms attention and judgment that are nowhere defined and everywhere called in to help the writer over a difficulty. Then too there is not sufficient evidence adduced to support the conclusion that attention is only aroused by change.

The experimental results are very interesting in themselves, and will probably prove by far the most valuable part of the book, but space does not permit that we discuss them here. The patience with which they have been wrought out is typically German, and the author is well fitted by long work in this line to give expert testimony as to the value of the work done by others in the same province.

The book as a whole will undoubtedly serve to open up new and important problems for investigation. The chief fault to be found with it arises from the distinct lack of unity in exposition, owing mainly to the fact that the first part—which contains the theoretical discussions, and many of the conclusions—was prepared separately as a *Habilitationsschrift* two years before the rest, and was not rewritten in the light of the experiments it is supposed to introduce. A summary of results would also add greatly to the work.

#### Einleitung in das Neue Testament.

Von Theodor Zahn. Zweiter Band: Leipzig, 1899. 8vo, pp. iv. + 656. Price 13.50m.

DR. ZAHN'S second volume is an admirable sequel to the first, and we welcome with renewed thanks the completion of his *Introduction*. As in the first volume, so also in the second, the notes at the end of each chapter are in themselves alone a most valuable contribution to New Testament studies, and it is not surprising that the learning and research which characterise the whole work should be recognised by critics whose standpoint differs from that of Dr. Zahn, as, e.g., by J. Weiss in his short notice of the book, *Theologische Rundschau*, April, 1899.

At the same time it is very possible that this second volume may disappoint some of Zahn's warmest admirers, at least in one respect, in his treatment of the Synoptist problem. On the other hand, it should be remembered that before he attempts to make any statement relative to this difficulty, Zahn does most important service in laying stress upon a fact which has sometimes been unduly forgotten, viz., the acquaintance which St. Paul's Epistles and other New Testament writings not only show, but presuppose in the minds of their readers, with the life and teaching of our Lord (pp. 158, 166-170). In this respect Zahn's summary (pp. 166, 167), will be found very valuable with its clear division of references in the Epistles (1) to the history of Jesus, (2) to the teaching of Jesus. It is, moreover, satisfactory to note that Dr. Zahn refers to the able articles on the subject by Paret, Paulus und Iesus, and to Keim's Geschichte Iesu, i., p. 35 (which contains so many striking admissions as to St. Paul's evident acquaintance with the life and teaching of his Master), and with some slight qualification to Dr. P. Ewald's Das Hauptproblem der Evangelienfrage.

But Dr. Zahn's treatment of the Gospels and of their relation to each other will no doubt comprise the part of the

book which will be surprising even to conservative critics who are prepared to accept, at least for the present, the 'two-document hypothesis' as the most widely recognised basis for further investigation and the priority of St. Mark in the probable sequence of the Evangelists, in spite of the protest again raised by Hilgenfeld, Acta Apostolorum, p. vi., 1899, and his welcome of Mr. Badham's St. Mark's Indebtedness to St. Matthew.

According to Dr. Zahn, St. Matthew's Gospel is the earliest, i.e., St. Matthew's Gospel in its Aramaic form. He fully recognises (p. 254), that we owe to Papias our oldest and weightiest information as to the literary activity of St. Matthew, but the  $\Lambda \acute{o}\gamma \iota a$  ascribed to this Apostle are by no means a collection of discourses, and are by no means to be limited to this. Such was not the meaning of Papias; he only refers by the word Aóyıa to that part of St. Matthew's Gospel in which he had a special interest, but he does not in the least mean to affirm that St. Matthew had limited himself to our Lord's discourses, in distinction from the other Evangelists who describe the actions of Jesus as well as His sayings. This notion of the Aoyia wants not only external foundation in the statement of Papias, but also internal probability (p. 255); even the longer discourses of Jesus are pictures which would never have had any existence apart from the frames in which they are set. But the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Gospel which he himself wrote, was not our Greek Canonical Gospel, but a Hebrew or rather Aramaic Gospel, which the Apostle wrote in Palestine about A.D. 62 (p. 297). What became of this Gospel? It was lost, and our Greek Gospel of St. Matthew is placed by Zahn about A.D. 85, and referred not to St. Matthew himself as the translator, but to some unknown hand (p. 301). But between the dates of the Aramaic and the Greek St. Matthew, the two other Synoptists are placed by Zahn: St. Mark as early as the summer of 64, St. Luke (and Acts) about 75. Thus, in one sense, the order of our Gospels according to Zahn is St. Mark, St. Luke, St. Matthew in Greek, while, in another sense, St. Matthew is still his Urevangelist as the author of the Aramaic Gospel. It may be noted in passing that whilst Dr. Dalman would be at one with Zahn in his preference for Aramaic rather than Hebrew, the former writer is altogether doubtful as to the existence of an Aramaic Urevangelium of Matthew, and regards it as quite possible that the original sources of our Evangelists were written in Greek (cf. Die Worte Fesu, pp. 47-57). With regard to the interdependence of the Evangelists, St. Mark was acquainted with the Aramaic Matthew (pp. 250, 322, 328), while St. Luke was acquainted with St. Mark, but not, however, with the Aramaic Matthew; since, in Zahn's judgment, he could only have had access to it through a translation, which at the time of St. Luke's writing was not in existence (pp. 364, 401, 402), and it was improbable, if not impossible, that St. Luke was acquainted with Aramaic. The Greek translator of St. Matthew could have used Mark, and apparently Luke (pp. 298, 322, 323).

It must of course be borne in mind that the order of succession and interdependence of the Synoptists adopted by Dr. Zahn is fixed after a careful investigation of the patristic tradition as to the authorship of each Gospel (pp. 172; cf. 261 ff.). But the conclusions which Zahn draws from these traditions, as well as from the statement of Papias, require a longer examination than we can afford; for the present we can only note that it is a matter of regret, not only to opponents, but to friendly critics, that Dr. Zahn should not have examined the Synoptist problem more closely from the point of view of language, of mutual similarities, of divergences; e.g., we have only two pages, 401, 402, given to the relationship existing between St. Luke and St. Matthew (see Schürer, Theol. Literaturzeitung, No. 5, 1899; and Theol. Literaturblatt, No. 33, 1899).

Dr. Zahn dismisses the view that our St. Matthew was originally a Greek document, and also the view that St. Matthew himself could have written both in Aramaic and Greek, as in direct opposition to the correctly understood words of Papias (pp. 261, 262). But at the same time, whatever difficulties the statement of Papias may present, it is somewhat strange that the name of the translator who has given us 'an essentially true translation' of the Matthew-Aramaic Gospel should

have been so entirely lost in oblivion, especially when we remember that according to Zahn (p. 259), this transference of the name of Matthew from the Aramaic to the Greek Gospel must have taken place under the eyes of Papias and other disciples of the Apostles.

But whilst Dr. Zahn may disappoint us in his treatment, or lack of treatment, of the more recent phases of the Synoptist problem, as the phrase is generally understood, his treatment of each Gospel as a whole, and of the special aim and purpose of each, demands and repays the most careful study. Not only does he see in St. Mark, whose Gospel he examines first, a scholar of St. Peter, and the man who committed to writing St. Peter's preaching in Rome, but he sees in Mark's Gospel 'the Gospel of Peter'; the narratives of St. Peter's experiences were heard by Mark in his mother's house in the Holy City (Acts xii. 12-17; cf. ii. 42, 46). He leaves Jerusalem, but later we find him again at St. Peter's side in Rome, where all the recollections of his earlier years would be revived (pp. 203, 204). Moreover, the words of the Muratorian Fragment (ali)quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit (p. 244), have a special interest for Dr. Zahn, and he sees in Mark not only the έρμηνευτής of Peter, but also the narrator of scenes in which the Evangelist himself had shared (cf. Mark xiv. 51, p. 243 ff.), although a most friendly and learned critic of Dr. Zahn's work (Dr. E. Haupt) warns him against the danger of pressing the words of the Fragment too far. The tradition supported by Clement of Alexandria that St. Mark did not write until after the death of Peter and Paul, A.D. 66 or 67, is explained by Zahn on the supposition that St. Mark may well have commenced to write before St. Peter's death, and may have finished his work at a later date (see further below).

In his discussion of St. Mark's Gospel, special interest attaches to Dr. Zahn's treatment (p. 227 ff.) of the last twelve verses. He reckons it among the most certain results of criticism that the words  $\epsilon \phi o \beta o \hat{v} v \tau \sigma \gamma \alpha \rho$ , xvi. 8, are the last which come from the author himself, but he connects this unfinished state of the book (pp. 234, 235), with the hypothesis already mentioned, viz., that the Gospel was commenced

during the lifetime of St. Peter, and that his martyrdom, with that of St. Paul, sufficiently suggests reasons and events which would snatch the pen from Mark's hand and prevent him from concluding his work as he had intended. The possibility is further entertained that the incomplete book may have been given by St. Mark to his friends to read, and that they may have copied it and multiplied copies before Mark could stay its circulation. It is of further interest to note, in connection with Mr. Conybeare's well-known suggestion, that Zahn further holds that these twelve verses, although not from the hand of St. Mark, may be traced partly, v. 14-18, to Aristion the elder, whom Papias mentions as a personal disciple of Jesus (p. 230).

If we turn to St. Luke's Gospel, with which Acts must be closely associated as a second part of the same work (p. 366). it has for its aim the representation of the history of Christianity up to the date of the completion of the work, in such a form as to recommend the trustworthiness of the Christian tradition to a cultured heathen, as Theophilus was, at any rate when the Gospel of St. Luke was dedicated to him (pp. 360, 361). In the fact that the epithet κράτιστος is omitted in Acts i. 1, Dr. Zahn sees a possible indication that in the meantime Theophilus had become a Christian ἀδελφός. Probably in his preface to his Gospel St. Luke may refer to the unfinished work of St. Mark (p. 364), but at all events the words of his preface show that he included in his sources of information men like Philip the Evangelist, the brethren of Jesus, and other ἀρχαῖοι μαθηταί, Acts viii. 4, i. 14 (cf. 1 Cor. ix. 5, xv. 7), xxi. 16 (p. 363).

If, moreover, the careful inquiry to which St. Luke himself appeals (Luke i. 1-3) was to be of any validity, he must have been concerned to gain access to the most reliable information. and if he was already in A.D. 40 a member of the Church at Antioch (Acts xi. 27 ff.; cf. p. 334, 341, 365), if he was identical with the author of the 'We' sections in Acts, and at the same time with the Luke of St. Paul's Epistles, he evidently had rich opportunities of gaining direct information from the mouth of primitive and prominent witnesses to the Christian

tradition (p. 365).

Whatever we may think of the originality of the basis upon which the belief is made to rest, St. Luke's membership in the Church at Antioch is strikingly maintained by Dr. Zahn (pp. 341, 350), and with equal skill he argues for the identity of the Evangelist with the author of the 'We' sections in Acts, as also with the Luke of the notices in Col. iv. 13; Philem. ver. 24; 2 Tim. iv. 10 (cf. p. 406 ff.). If we seek for St. Luke's aim in his writings, he wrote with the object of recommending his work to readers of the type of Theophilus, and thus he often brings Christianity into touch with political history (p. 375), while possibly the universality of the Christian religion is insisted upon with the same purpose (p. 376), as also the teaching of his Gospel as to poverty and riches and the blessing on the poor, cf. Acts xx. 35, iii. 6; Luke xiii. 21 (p. 379). So, too, from the same point of view it was of importance to emphasise the fact that Christianity stood in no hostile relationship to the Imperial Government and the Roman officials (p. 379). In this same part of his volume Dr. Zahn maintains another hypothesis which at the present time is likely to be discussed with keen interest, supported as it is by Professor Ramsay, and more recently by Mr. Rendall, and in Germany by a small but by no means unimportant band of scholars (although Dr. E. Haupt in his recent review of Zahn's work pronounces against the hypothesis), viz., that St. Luke proposed to write a τρίτος λόγος as a continuation and completion of his previous books (p. 368 ff.). Dr. Zahn compares the brief conclusion of St. Luke's Gospel with the fuller narrative in Acts, 1-26, and argues that it was Luke's intention to amplify the brief notice (Acts xxviii. 30, 31) into a fuller account of the history of the Roman Church in his third treatise, just as in the beginning of Acts he amplifies the concluding verses of the Gospel. The same line of argument is adopted by Mr. Rendall in his Acts of the Apostles and in his comments on the concluding verses of that book.

A good instance of the discrimination with which Dr. Zahn investigates the sources employed by St. Luke may be found on pp. 404, 405. The contents of Luke i., ii., which in their

narrative portions, and in the canticles which they contain, can only be compared with the books of Samuel in their poetic grace and genuine Hebrew spirit, could not have been the creation of the Greek Luke, and twice (Luke ii. 19, 51) the Evangelist gives us incidental notices which point to Mary the Mother of Jesus as the source of information for these early chapters (p. 404, 405). This point, no doubt, has been often emphasised, but Dr. Zahn's decided remarks will be read with interest at the present time as a fresh endorsement of Professor Ramsay's striking description of the information which we owe beyond all reasonable doubt to a Mother's reminiscences in his Was Christ born at Bethlehem? In continuing his subject, Dr. Zahn holds that the other narratives of St. Luke's Gospel bear the stamp, as is the case scarcely anywhere else in the Gospels, of transparent originality; the historical portions (p. 405), in their notices of places, names of persons, traits of character beyond the power of fiction, and genuine Hebrew colouring, disarm all suspicion. If, e.g., Luke alone gives us two notices of Herod Antipas (xiii. 31-33, xxiii. 6-12, 15), we read that the wife of a steward of the same prince belonged to the company of Jesus (viii. 3), and that a foster-brother of the same prince (Acts xiii. I), was a teacher of the Church at Antioch, when the historian of Acts probably belonged to the same Christian community (p. 405, and see above).

By an accumulation of many other instances Zahn shows in the following pages how wide and numerous were the sources of information which St. Luke possessed for his history of the early Church, whilst he brings the later portions of Acts to the tests of archæology and modern discovery, and defends ch. xxvii. against the extraordinary attack of Mommsen, referring to the well-known book, Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, by James Smith, F.R.S., of Jordanhill (p. 421).

There are several other subjects, of special interest at the present time, connected with the examination of St. Luke's Gospel and Acts. (1) Dr. Zahn, e.g., investigates the supposed dependence of St. Luke upon Josephus (p. 394 ff., 416), and passes some just strictures upon Krenkel's extravagant attempt to prove the affirmative, and the somewhat modified

attempts of other writers in the same direction, e.g., Dr. C. Clemen. Dr. Zahn examines in detail the most notable points of contact between the two historians (pp. 416-418), and proves that in each case St. Luke shows traces of following an independent tradition, and he subjects the test of language to which Krenkel appealed to a severe and close analysis (p. 414). (2) Another portion of the volume (p. 338 ff.) is concerned with the theory of Dr. Blass and his Roman or B text. Dr. Zahn is prepared to accept Dr. Blass's theory so far as Acts is concerned (although he does not admit its correctness in relation to the Gospel, a view in which he is entirely supported by Haupt), and he advocates the originality and superiority of the Western text in many instances, e.g., Acts xi. 27, xii. 10, xxi. 16, whilst he declines to accept it in the famous passage, xv. 20, connected with the Apostolic decree, a reservation which has recently called forth a reply from Dr. Blass, Studien und Kritiken, p. 5-28, 1900. It is of interest to observe that Zahn before the publication of Dr. Blass's Acta Apostolorum had been working on somewhat the same lines with regard to the widespread evidence to the existence of the Western text (p. 248). (3) In Excursus, ii., p. 626 ff., the chronology of Acts receives careful consideration; here we can only note that the author rejects entirely the 'new chronology' of Harnack and O. Holtzmann, whilst he accepts (p. 627), the identification of Gal. ii. I-10 with Acts xv. I ff., not only because the two accounts are in his view concerned essentially with the same events, but also because (in spite of Harnack's recent strictures) of the impossibility of any other combination. (4) In relation to the language of the third Gospel and Acts, Dr. Zahn lays stress upon one point of primary importance (pp. 427, 435): the medical phraseology which characterises the two books. And in this connection it is gratifying to English readers to find such a full and complete recognition of the value of Dr. Hobart's work on the Medical Language of St. Luke. We may readily admit that many of the instances adduced by Dr. Hobart require careful sifting, and we may be quite prepared to recognise the tests proposed by Dr. Plummer 60

in his most valuable Introduction to St. Luke's Gospel; we may readily grant that some of the instances quoted by Zahn will probably fail to gain acceptance; but the fact remains that Dr. Hobart's main position is abundantly proved, as Dr. Plummer fully admits, and the value of his work and the correctness of his main thesis have been recognised by Professor Ramsay no less than by Bishop Lightfoot and Dr. Salmon. In Germany, too, Dr. J. Weiss shows by his constant references to Dr. Hobart's work in his Evangelium des Lukas in Meyer's commentary that he is fully aware of its worth and importance. No one now-a-days can afford to dismiss this argument from medical language as mere Spielerei, to use the word once applied to it by Dr. B. Weiss (although it is surely significant that in the third edition of his Einleitung, p. 531, the word is dropped, and reference is made to the existence of Dr. Hobart's book). The testimony of a layman like J. Vogel in his Zur Charakteristik des Lucas nach Sprache und Stil, p. 17, 1897, is a fresh tribute to its value: recent commentaries like those of Rendall in England and Knabenbauer in France may be quoted on the same side, and it is surprising that in what has been called one of the most powerful and recent attacks upon the Lucan authorship of Acts, Dr. McGiffert's Apostolic Age, not one single word is directed to this subject by the writer.

When we turn to St. John's Gospel, we find that Zahn again bases his conclusions upon a careful examination of the traditional and external evidence for the Gospel—an examination which for thoroughness leaves nothing to be desired, e.g., in its proof of the unreasonableness of adducing the Alogi as witnesses detrimental to the Johannine authorship of the Gospel (p. 447, 461). In his treatment of the internal evidence, and the import of its contents as to the personality of the author, we find that familiar ground is traversed to a great extent both in the examination of the narratives and of the speeches (p. 556), but the fulness and force with which the conclusions are stated anew will be welcomed, e.g., the way in which (p. 468), the author emphasises the fact that the two sons of Zebedee, although occupying

such a prominent place in the lists of the Twelve, are never mentioned by name in the fourth Gospel, whilst the same significant silence is observed, except in the supplement (xxi. 2) with regard to their father Zebedee, and their mother Salome (p. 468); how are we to explain this silence as to two Apostles of the first rank in a Gospel from which we learn more than from any other the characteristic traits of the members of the Apostolic band?

Certainly it seems strange that Schürer in reviewing this volume can tell us that in connection with the fourth Gospel the most important questions are never discussed at all; but in spite of this he cannot refrain from some words of commendation as to the fulness and thoroughness with which Zahn examines a question which most people will consider of the greatest importance, the manner in which this fourth Gospel presupposes the other three (p. 498-527). In this connection we are specially grateful for Zahn's conclusion that the Virgin Birth of our Lord is presupposed as known by the readers of John i. 13 (cf. p. 505, 518). No doubt there are points in the examination of St. John's Gospel which will occasion surprise, e.g., the identification in xix. 35 of exervos, not with the author of the Gospel, but with Jesus Himself, and the reference of the term horos, not to the pre-existent Christ, but to the Christ appearing in the world (cf. p. 537, 546). The Apocalypse, which is placed a few years later than the terminus ad quem for the Gospel, cir. 95, is without hesitation ascribed to St. John, and we cannot be surprised that Zahn in his attachment to tradition places the book so late, and not as has been fashionable in modern days, in the year 68. But it is noteworthy that he practically agrees in this with Harnack, who assigns the Apocalypse to 93-96; although the latter, while acknowledging the identity of authorship between the Gospels, Johannine Epistles, and the Apocalypse, attributes these writings not to John the Apostle, but to the shadowy 'presbyter John'. Zahn places the Gospel and Epistles between A.D. 80-90, as we might expect from a staunch conservative, but when we remember that Baur placed the fourth Gospel at 170, a date which no German

critic of the front rank except, perhaps, O. Pfleiderer would now be so rash as to adopt, we thankfully note that in spite of his eccentricity as to the actual author, Harnack assigns the fourth Gospel to the year A.D 80-IIO. We may mention in passing that the third notice in the *Theol. Literaturblatt*, No. 34, 1899, of Zahn's volume, is devoted entirely to the consideration of this section on the Johannine books (pp. 445, 626).

A few words as to some of the other writings which are examined in the pages before us. Dr. Zahn strongly defends the genuineness of I St. Peter in the opening section of his work. According to him, the Epistle was directed to the heathen-Christian Churches of Asia Minor which had been originally founded by St. Paul. For this purpose Silvanus was fitly connected with the letter (p. 10), as he had been chosen by St. Paul as his companion in his second missionary journey to many of the Christian communities mentioned. But we venture to think that Zahn ascribes too important a part to Silvanus in the phrase γράφειν διά τινος, which he takes to mean that Silvanus was actually a joint author of the letter with Peter, although the latter is the actual speaker from the beginning to the end, and Silvanus is not once formally named as sharing in the authorship (p. 12, 16). Zahn places the date of the Epistle at 64 (p. 19), as against Professor Ramsay's advocacy of a considerably later date, cir. 80. It seems impossible to maintain the very early date still advocated by Kühl, B. Weiss, and a few German critics, and formerly by E. De Pressensé in France, tempting as it is.

Among the notes of interest there is a long discussion of the term Babylon and its undoubted application to Rome, I Pet. v. 13 (pp. 17, 19), a discussion which gains in importance from the recent advocacy by Dr. Blass of the application of the term to the Babylon of the Euphrates. Another important note defends the historical accuracy of the notice of the name "Christian," iv. 16 (p. 40), against any attempt to see in it an indication of a late date for the Epistle, while at the same time the same note contains a criticism of Professor Ramsay's view that the letter presupposes a systematic persecution by order of the State (p. 39).

Another section of interest will be found in Dr. Zahn's defence of 2 Peter which, however, he dates, with Spitta, earlier than the first Epistle, viz., in 62.

With regard to the Epistle to the Hebrews, whilst he declines to advance further than the famous saying of Origen as to its authorship (p. 151), Dr. Zahn regards it as a letter directed to Jewish Christians in Rome, since the Church consisted predominantly from the first of Jewish Christians. But such a view of the composition of the Church in Rome is by no means free from criticism, if we consider the different elements of which the Church in that city was composed not many years before it may reasonably be supposed that the Epistle in question may have been written (cf. e.g., Rom. xvi. I ff., and Sanday and Headlam, Romans, p. xxxiv.), to say nothing of further difficulties presented for Zahn's view by some of the passages in the Epistle. Zahn certainly supposes that the letter would be received, not by the whole Roman Church, but by the Jewish-Christian portion of it; but this conclusion will scarcely find a very wide acceptance. Here again we come across a question of immediate interest in face of the advocacy of the early date, 59, for the Epistle by Professor Ramsay, and of its address to Jewish Christians resident not in Rome, but in Jerusalem.

In a short notice it is quite impossible to discuss in further detail the varied learning and interest of this second part of Dr. Zahn's work; we can only repeat Dr. Gloag's judgment, in his review of the first volume, that no student should be without it. One of the most recent and thorough reviews of the volumes in question, by one of Dr. Zahn's own countrymen, justly comments on the untiring and ceaseless care which marks every page, and on the unique position occupied by the work in its fulness of exegetical, critical, historical, geographical, and archæological apparatus. We would endorse the conclusion of the same writer that a rich harvest must result from such a rich sowing (Dr. E. Haupt in Studien und Kritiken, p. 131-161, 1900).

R. J. KNOWLING.

<sup>1</sup> Critical Review, viii., 288.

## The Christology of Jesus: Being His Teaching concerning Himself according to the Synoptic Gospels.

By the Rev. James Stalker, M.A., D.D. Hodder & Stoughton. 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. xi + 298. Price 6s.

In this book, which consists of the Cunningham Lectures for 1899, Dr. Stalker gives the first part of his proposed exposition of "The Whole Teaching of Jesus Christ," promising to follow it with a volume on "The Ethic of Jesus," and a third volume on "The Teaching of Jesus as Recorded by St. John". Readers of The Life of Jesus Christ and Imago Christi will be prepared for the charm of this new work. The same freshness of treatment, the same vigour of style, the same evangelic fervour that we are familiar with in all Dr. Stalker's writings appear here. He has the art of making theology usually deemed the dullest of subjects for all but its professional students-interesting to the general reader. while the style and treatment are popular, in the best sense of the term, there lies behind a careful study of the subject in the full light of modern criticism. Dr. Stalker rejects the recent disintegrating criticism of the Gospel narratives, which now threatens to go as far in Germany with these records as it already goes with the Pentateuch in our own country; and he argues strenuously against the belittling of the import of Our Lord's most striking sayings about Himself that Wendt persistently pursues in his exposition of them.

There is no subject that now calls for more careful scientific treatment than that which Dr. Stalker here discusses. Much as our attention has been directed to the teachings of Jesus of late, this has been for the most part on the ethical side. But inquiries now in process force the pertinent question, What did Jesus think and teach on the weighty topic of His own nature and mission? Before facing that question Dr. Stalker first devotes a lecture to the general subject of the importance of the teaching of Jesus. While

setting the highest possible value on this teaching he utters his protest against the popular modern way of handling it. He objects to the isolated position given to Our Lord's teaching in Dr. John Watson's Mind of the Master, arguing, first that Jesus gave His disciples teaching authority, and secondly that "Christ Himself is more than His words" (p. 18). It will be seen that there is nothing very novel in these positions. The freshness of Dr. Stalker's writing is not to be found so much in its main ideas as in the living style in which they are presented, and their direct application to the most recent utterances of criticism. "Dr. Watson" he writes, "speaks as if the words of Jesus were the longneglected but rich source of dogmas, where any one can lay his hand on them, as on the eggs in a discovered nest, and find his Creed made and ready" (p. 22). There is justice in his answer, "When we go to the words of Jesus for the articles of a Creed, is not this to mistake the genus to which these words belong? The difference between religion and theology may be hard to define, but it is not hard to feel: and surely the words of Christ belong not to theology but to religion" (p. 23). But here we are pulled up at the difficulty created by the popular styles of both these popular writers. Epigrammatic pointedness seems to settle an argument when a little serious thought will show that it evades it. It may be replied to Dr. Stalker that if we are not to expect to find a "made-and-ready" Creed in the teachings of Jesus we have there the touch-stone with which to try all Creeds and the best material out of which to coin any. To take his own illustration, we have the eggs in the nest, not the full-fledged theology, but the embryo thoughts. Dr. Stalker has some wise words on the form of the teaching of Jesus. Here, as again later on, he runs counter to the modern habit, inherited from Ritschl, of taking the idea of the Kingdom of God as its central theme. Frequent as the phrase is on the lips of Our Lord, he holds that it was only an accommodation to Jewish modes of thought, so that the apostles were wise in abandoning it, and we may be wise in not trammelling our conceptions of Christ's teaching by too close adherence to it. VOL. X.-No. 1.

The first lecture concludes with a brief consideration of the characteristics of the teaching of Jesus, noting especially (1) its "Pregnancy," and (2) its "Imaginativeness".

In the second lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the significance of Our Lord's use of the title "The Son of Man". Passing in review the chief recent explanations of the use of the term he traces it back to the familiar passage in Daniel, though admitting that there it stands for the "saints". He explains the position thus: "Jesus, however, by assuming the title, puts Himself in the place of Israel, no doubt on the ground that in Him its attributes culminated, and its kingly destiny was fulfilled" (p. 58). It was not a popular Messianic title in the time of Christ, or Our Lord's use of it would have conveyed His claim to the position of Messiah, which evidently it did not do, or at all events was not supposed to do by His hearers. Dr. Stalker does not attribute it at all to Our Lord's uses of apocalyptic literature. In spite of Mr. Charles, he considers that the passages about the Son of Man, if not the whole book of Similitudes in which they occur as part of the Apocalypse of Enoch, are not genuine, and must be attributed to Christian authorship. On the other hand, Wellhausen's idea that the title is simply the Aramaic Barnash, meaning just "man" cannot be accepted, as it does not account for the articles which give unique significance to the title as used by Jesus Christ. Still, while He derives the actual phrase from Daniel, Jesus shows His individuality in His continuous uses of it, hinting at His great mission to those who could receive the idea, at the same time emphasising His consciousness of identity with the children of men.

In his third lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the term "The Son of God". This is not directly applied by Christ to Himself anywhere in the synoptics. But when it is offered to Him by others He tacitly or openly admits it. Occasionally He calls Himself simply the "Son," and frequently He refers to God as His Father in a unique sense, since He says "My Father," and "Your Father," but never joins Himself with His disciples or any other men in saying "Our Father". The title "Son of God" is applied in Scripture to (1) angels

(Job i. 6, ii. 1, xxxviii. 7), (2) the first man (Luke ii. 38), (3) the Hebrew nation (Exod. iv. 32), (4) the kings of Israel (2 Sam. vii. 14), (5) believers in Jesus (e.g., John i. 12; 1 Peter i. 23). Dr. Stalker rejects what he allows to be "the almost universal verdict of scholarship "that its application to Jesus arose from its reference to the kings of Israel, in short, that like the term" Son of Man" it is Messianic. holds that it points to Our Lord's real Divine nature. confirmation of this view he points to the message of the Annunciation (Luke i. 35). But is not that outside the range of his subject, since it is not a part of the teaching of Jesus? The same must be said of his citation of the cry of the demoniacs, and the exclamation of the men on the ship when He had stilled the sea (Matt. xiv. 33). Still these cases serve to illustrate the popular use of the term which Dr. Stalker holds is separate from the idea of the Messiahship. The crucial test is found in the language of the high priest when adjuring Our Lord (Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; Luke xxii. 66-71). Here Dr. Stalker thinks that Caiaphas means a different person by the "Son of God" from the "Christ," because he puts two questions, one about each. Surely that is a difficult position to maintain. Did the Jewish high priest have some trinitarian creed which he kept apart from his Messianic ideas? Still it must be allowed that Dr. Stalker has a strong case for his main argument in this lecture, which is to show that by His own confession Iesus revealed His Divine nature. It is difficult in face of the instances he brings forward to hold that the Divinity of Christ is a belief of aftertimes, growing up in the reflections of the apostles of the Church and not a part of the teachings of Jesus Himself, unless we are to tear those teachings to fragments and reject whatever testifies to this doctrine. In particular Dr. Stalker points (1) to the long series of remarkable utterances in connection with Our Lord's miracles which indicate His lofty claims, (2) to the sayings in which His superhuman consciousness betrays itself when He comes forth as the supreme and final Revealer of truth, commencing with such formulæ as "I say unto you," "Verily, I say unto you". (3) To His claim upon

the conscience, as when He says "Follow me," (4) to His claim to forgive sins, and (5) to certain great sayings that stand by themselves, such as that to St. Peter about the founding of His Church. While Holtzmann discredits the genuineness of these stronger sayings, and Wendt depletes them of their meaning, Dr. Stalker vindicates them by their agreement with the teaching of St. Paul at too early a date for so tremendous a misapprehension of the nature of Christ to have come about, as would have been the case if Jesus Himself had not given any justification for such a view of His nature.

In his fourth lecture Dr. Stalker discusses the idea of "The Messiah" in relation to the teachings of Jesus. He argues against the contention that Our Lord never claimed to be the Messiah at all. His declaration in the synagogue at Nazareth (though surely the anointing there spoken of is that of a specific mission apart from the actual Messiahship), His acceptance of the title "Son of David," and His argument about David calling his son "Lord," are cited as proofs that Jesus directly claimed to be the expected Christ. Here Dr. Stalker returns to his objection to the modern revival of the idea of the "Kingdom of God," concluding his discussion of this subject with the following words that directly contradict the modern Ritschlian phraseology:—

On the whole, however, the attempt to revive this term seems to be mistaken. We are very remote now from the world to which it belonged. To many Christians, living under republican forms of government, the very name of a king or a kingdom is something foreign and out of date. Whatever may be the case in Germany, to our ears the phrase as a name for Christianity has a sound of preciosity and make-believe; and there are far better names for the same thing. The attempt to revive it is due to a mistaken reverence for Christ, as if the repetition of His mere words were obligatory upon Christians; it is a return from the spirit to the letter, an attempt to force thought back into a form which it has long outgrown (pp. 166, 167).

In an important lecture on "The Redeemer" Dr. Stalker argues for the objective efficacy of Our Lord's atoning work on the ground of His own teachings. He holds that the death of Christ meant much more to Our Lord in anticipation

than is commonly supposed, quoting Dr. Fairbairn in support of this position. When Christ speaks of giving His life as ransom for many "that from which He ransoms may be called the fear of death, but, if so, it is the fear of death eternal; and the only method of taking this away is to take away sin, which lends to death its terror" (p. 183). The ransom, Dr. Stalker holds, was paid to God. He even says "By far the most important effect of the death of Christ was its effect on the mind of God" (p. 187), and as if this were not strong enough he adds a footnote. "Nine-tenths of the modern books on the Atonement are occupied with its effects on the mind of man, but nine-tenths of the Bible statements are concerned with its effects on the mind of God". Such a sweeping statement demands a most elaborate justification, but that is just what it cannot receive in a popular treatise. It must stand for what it is worth.

In his last lecture—on "The Judge"—Dr. Stalker gives us some of his most striking thoughts. He carefully marks the critical stages in the development of Our Lord's ministry. The temptation he describes as "a conflict between traditionalism and originality and the struggle that this produced in the soul of Jesus". He regards the Transfiguration as an important turning point in Our Lord's life and consciousness, remarking with reference to the appearance of Moses and Elijah, "The presence of these two may also be intended to suggest the means by which His mind attained to the position of mastery over His fate" (p. 220).

Dr. Stalker subjoins two Appendices. The first, reprinted from the *Expositor*, contains an exposition and criticism of Wendt's untranslated volume of the *Teaching of Christ*, which will be very useful for English readers who desire to know Wendt's exact position. The second is a reprint from the *Thinker* of an article on the "Book of Enoch" in which the Christian origin of the "Son of Man" passages is maintained.

WALTER F. ADENEY.

# The Epistles of S. Clement to the Corinthians in Syriac.

Edited by the late R. L. Bensly, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. xviii+66. Price 6s. net.

THE book before us must be regarded as a necessary and welcome supplement to the work contributed by the late Professor Bensly to Bishop Lightfoot's edition of Clement of Rome. In that great work (vol i., pp. 131-142) is found (1) an account of the MS. (Camb. Univ. Add., 1700) from which our Syriac text is derived, (2) a collation of the Syriac, and (3) a full discussion of the relation of the Syriac text to that of the two Greek MSS.1 at present known. A further account of the MS. (more detailed) appeared in the late Professor Bensly's Harklean Version of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We now have, thanks to the editorial care of Mr. R. H. Kennett, University Lecturer in Aramaic, some further work left unfinished by Professor Bensly, consisting of the full Syriac text of the First and Second Epistles to the Corinthians together with some useful notes chiefly on Greek and Syriac equivalents in Clement and in the Old and New Testaments. These last show that the translator of Clement used in the main the style and vocabulary of the Syriac Hexaplar and of the Harklean version.

From this general character of the translation we might roughly date it as perhaps not later than the seventh century. Lightfoot has however pointed out (vol. i., p. 135) that there is no good ground for supposing that Thomas of Harkel himself translated Clement. The translation is none the less as accurate in detail as if it had come from the hand of this prince of literal translators. The very free quotation of Isaiah lx. 17 for instance is reproduced ad literam in Syriac: I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Latin text was first published at the beginning of 1894, three years after Lightfoot's great edition.

equivalent for the Hebrew Theorem. The Latin has, Praeponam episcopos eorum in iustitia et ministros eorum in fide. It is a most satisfactory circumstance that we now have the text of the earliest of the Apostolic Fathers in four complete and independent editions, viz., the text of the Codex Alexandrinus in the facsimile edition of the great MS., that of the Codex Constantinopolitanus, in autotype at the end of the first volume of Lightfoot; the Latin in D. Morin's editio princeps of 1894; and now at last the Syriac in the editio princeps of Professor Bensly of 1899. The nineteenth century has filled the lacunæ and established the text of Clement, until we may believe that we read it to-day at least as correctly as Eusebius read it.

W. EMERY BARNES.

# Texte und Untersuchungen.

- Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens. Von Georg Wobbermin:
- Zur Ueberlieferung des Philostorgius. Von Ludwig Jeep. [T.U.; n. F., ii. 3 b.] 8vo, pp. 36 and 33. Price M.2.
- Die Todestage der Apostel Paulus und Petrus. Von C. Erbes.
- Der Ketzer-Katalog des Bischof Maruta von Maipherkat. Von Adolf Harnack.
- Der alte Umfang, etc. von Cyprians Schrift ad Donatum. Von K. G. Goetz.
- [T.U.; n. F., iv. 1] 1899. 8vo, pp. 138, 17 and 16. Price M.5.50. Leipzig: Hinrichs; London and Edinburgh: Williams and Norgate.

THESE two issues of the New Series of the Texte und Untersuchungen contain five papers of varying length and widely different interest. From an eleventh century MS. in the Laura Convent of Mount Athos, Wobbermin, who has done good service in his studies on the Ancient Mysteries and their possible influence on the Church, prints here for the first time a collection of Christian prayers belonging to the early part of the fourth century. According to the title, and also to internal evidence, we may regard as author, or at least as editor, of the collection Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, in Lower Egypt, the friend and correspondent of Athanasius. The prayers are followed by a brief dogmatic discussion περί πατρὸς καὶ νίοῦ in the form of a letter which, though anonymous, probably proceeds from the same pen. The letter is noteworthy for two things, of which the first is the attitude of the writer to the Catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The title itself suggests a pre-Trinitarian point of view, and though the writer rejects the description of the Spirit as a κτίσμα, he does not go further than to describe Him as  $\tau \partial \nu \kappa \delta \lambda \pi \partial \nu \tau \partial \theta \epsilon \partial \theta$ , the sum and total of the Divine

attributes. He does not treat the Third Person as in line with the First and Second. So that we have reflected here precisely that stage of thought to which Athanasius addresses himself in his letter to Serapion, though he does not connect these defective views with Serapion himself. Light is thus thrown both on the development of the doctrine and on Athanasius' famous letter. The second point is the testimony borne by this document to the Epistle of Barnabas, which is quoted as canonical Scripture in the same way as the Epistle to the Romans and the Fourth Gospel, while its author is described as τιμιώτατος and ἀπόστολος. Contrasting this with Athanasius' disparagement of the same epistle, Wobbermin sees a case of the distinctions between the tradition of contiguous localities.

In the prayers, of which there are thirty, will be found material for an interesting study, which the editor promises in the future. They fall into groups connected with the administration of Baptism and the ordination of Deacons, Presbyters and Bishops, as well as with the Eucharistic Service. The great prayer of the Prosphora, combining Thanksgiving and Consecration, has several interesting features. It contains a quotation from the corresponding prayer in the Didaché, of which there is an echo also in Athanasius, with the insertion of καθολική before ἐκκλησία; those parts are still combined which are differentiated in the Canon of the Mass, and of course the Oblation precedes the Consecration. The bread is described as  $\tau \delta$   $\delta \mu o i \omega \mu a \tau o \hat{\nu}$ σώματος τοῦ μονογενοῦς, and in like manner the wine; and these form την ζώσαν θυσίαν την προσφοράν την αναίμακτον. We have therefore some valuable new material for the study of the Eucharistic doctrine in the course of its development from the Didaché to the earliest liturgies.

The group of Church historians, Philostorgius, Sozomen, Socrates, and Theodoret, represent a series in some way inter-dependent. Dr. Jeep has already defended the view that both Socrates and Sozomen made use of Philostorgius (in his Quellenuntersuchungen zu der Griechischen Kirchenhistorikern, 1884). In answer to Harnack's demands for

further evidence, he has now collected all the available testimony. He clears away the presumption against the use by orthodox writers of the pronouncedly Arian Philostorgius by pointing to the use made of him by Theodoret, which has been recognised also by Guldenpenning, and then analyses the material derived from the same source by Suidas and traces the subsequent history of the MS. transmission of the work.

The discussion of the dates of the death of Paul and Peter respectively leads Dr. Erbes to a very full and technical examination of evidence of every kind, the chronology of Roman Bishops, the year of Festus' administration, the day of the Feast of Peter and Paul, the evidence of tombs and inscriptions in the Catacombs. He sums up strongly against the theory of a second imprisonment, fixes the date of Paul's arrival in Rome in February 61, and believes that his execution took place in 63 at the close of the two years' imprisonment, and probably in consequence of the Apostle's appeal having been heard and dismissed. The martyrdom of Peter he ascribes to the great persecution of a year later, and traces the idea that both suffered on the same day to a very early confusion.

In Maruta, Bishop of Maipherkat, we have a name once famous and significant now being restored to its place in Church history. Works attributed to him, e.g., in Mansi, have been overlooked as "recent and worthless productions," but the publication of a Syriac text of his de Nicaena Synodo (by O. Braun in the Kirchengeschichtliche Studien) justifies the respect in which his name and work were held by his immediate contemporaries and successors. It is a German translation of the Catalogue of Heretics which Prof. Harnack has printed with notes and introduction. Fifteen heresies in all are enumerated, "just those which we would expect to find recorded by a Bishop familiar with the affairs of the Patriarchate of Constantinople about A.D. 400". Of the older Gnostic sects only the Marcionites are mentioned. The characterisation of each sect is brief, but being accurate in those cases which are already familiar, may be trusted

for the others. A new sect (or a new name for an old one?) is that of the Timotheans, who, while doctrinally orthodox, exclude from their fellowship all holders of private property.

In the last of these papers K. G. Goetz takes up a suggestion first made by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, in his work on Cyprian, that the so-called letter Ad Donatum is not a letter nor yet a treatise in epistolary form, but a dialogue constructed on a Ciceronian model, the character of which has been obscured by the omission of an introduction which properly belongs to it. The change and the mistake are probably due to the habit of ascribing peculiar authority to the Epistles of a Bishop and the desire to raise this dialogue also to the same rank.

C. Anderson Scott.

## The Books of Kings.

- Die Bücher der Könige. Von Lic. Dr. I. Benzinger, Privatdocent der Theologie in Berlin. Freiburg i. B., etc.: J. C. B. Mohr (Marti's Kurzer Hand-Commentar), 1899. 8vo. Pp. xxiv.+217. Price M. 5 (to subscribers, M. 3.60).
- Das Buch der Könige. Untersuchung seiner Bestandtheile und seines litterarischen und geschichtlichen Charakters. Von Dr. Carl Holzhey, Privatdozent an der Universität München. München: J. J. Lentner. 1899. 8vo. Pp. 63. Price M. 1.40.

These contributions to the exposition of a somewhat neglected book are very welcome. Dr. Benzinger's is an example of that compression into a small compass of the maximum of information that can be given with a limited allowance of type and paper, with which students are already familiar in other volumes of Marti's series. It is characterised by the exact and thorough scholarship of the author's Old Testament Archæology. Dr. Holzhey's pamphlet discusses the general history of the composition of Kings, its sources and editions. The detailed analysis is not dealt with, and there is little reference to the work of previous scholars. These and other limitations enable the author to treat clearly, and with comparative fulness, the subjects to which he confines himself.

The general position of both works is one long familiar to the English student in Driver's Introduction and elsewhere, viz., that our Kings is an exilic or post-exilic revision of a pre-exilic compilation from pre-Deuteronomic sources. The revision was made towards or soon after the close of the Exile, the compilation shortly before the Exile, both by Deuteronomic writers. The pre-Deuteronomic sources were eighth or ninth century prophetic accounts of Elijah and Elisha, and certain works cited as "the Book of the Acts of Solomon," "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel," and "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah". These "Books" were not official archives.

This view involves a difficulty which has not hitherto received sufficient consideration. The pre-exilic Deuteronomic editor of Kings, writing according to Driver and others, c. B.C. 600, made use of "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah" as one of his main sources; but in 2 Kings xxiv. 5, this work is cited as containing an account of the reign of Jehoiakim, who died in B.C. 597. Jerusalem fell in 586, at the latest. The theory seems to require that, in the eleven troubled years, 597-586, first "the Book of the Chronicles" was compiled, and then on the basis of this, the pre-exilic R<sup>D</sup> Kings; which is scarcely credible. Kautzsch assigns the citations of "the Book" down to Josiah to the earlier RD, and the citation as to Jehoiakim to the later RD. This, by itself, does not help us. A work cited by anybody about Jehoiakim cannot have been written before 507, and can scarcely have been used by the earlier R<sup>D</sup>. It is possible that the earlier RD used an edition of "the Book" which stopped short at Josiah, and that 2 Kings xxiv. 5 refers to a supplement added to "the Book" somewhat later; or the reference may have been inserted by a late editor who had never seen "the Book," through a false analogy with previous references. Could "the Books of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and "Judah" have been RD works resting on earlier sources? Possibly the pre-exilic R<sup>D</sup> prepared new editions of earlier works known as "Books of the Chronicles, etc."; and the new editions kept the names of the earlier works. Such a view would be favoured by some of Holzhey's positions. It has been usual to regard the preexilic R<sup>D</sup> as the real author of Kings and to confine the work of the later R<sup>p</sup> to a limited revision. So Benzinger, p. xiii., Der vorexilische Redaktor (R1) ist der eigentliche 'Verfasser' des Buchs. According to Holzhey, pp. 42 ff., the later Rp made a thoroughgoing revision of the pre-exilic Kings, including a rearrangement of the material. But if the arrangement is due to the later RD, it seems simpler to suppose that he found his material in separate Deuteronomic works. Otherwise, we should expect to find, in our present Kings, traces of the earlier order.

Both Benzinger and Holzhey depart somewhat from the usual view as to I Kings i.-ii.; these chapters are generally referred to the same source as 2 Samuel ix.-xx. Benzinger accepts this view for I Kings i., but refers ii. to the History of Solomon; while Holzhey refers both chapters to the latter source. Benzinger refers to the later R<sup>D</sup>, I Kings xii. 32-xiii. 34, Mission of the Anonymous Prophet to Jeroboam at Bethel; while 2 Kings i. 5-16, Elijah and the Fire from Heaven, is an addition from the period of the earlier redaction.

W. H. BENNETT.

#### Notices.

We have received a series of Lectures on the Development of the Catholic Church 1 in our century by Professor Karl Sell of Bonn, giving a vivid and instructive view of the history of the Church from 1789 to 1897 under the successive influences of the Concordat, the Romantic, Liberal and Democratic Movements, on to the triumph of the infallible idea from 1870 to the present day; a pamphlet by J. W. Morden on the question, Was Man Evolved? 2 a criticism of the theory of Evolution in its Theological bearings, in which the writer unwisely commits himself to the position that "if the evolution of man controls our theological thinking, away goes any real revelation in Christ"; a very useful volume on Pitfalls in Bible English 3 by Mr. J. A. Clapperton, M.A., reprinted in large part from the Preacher's Magazine, pointing out the many words in our English Version that "unconsciously mislead," and giving brief, pointed explanations—altogether well done; a very tasteful volume by the same author, entitled Ten to One,4 containing a series of very short, but interesting and profitable papers, based upon striking, characteristic sentences taken from the writings of great saints and martyrs—Baxter, Suso, Bunyan, Savonarola, Luther, Milton, St. Francis, Ignatius, Tauler, and othersa very happy idea; Mr. F. Storr's Life and Remains of the Rev. R. H. Quick, 5 a late but welcome and worthy memorial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Die Entwickelung der Katholischen Kirche im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Leizpig: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 112. Price M.1.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Elliot Stock. Cr. 8vo., pp. 6o. Price 9d. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> (Books for Bible Students.) London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 126. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>4(</sup>Helps Heavenward.) London: Charles H. Kelley, 1899. Demy 16mo, pp. 128. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Cambridge: At the University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi.+544. Price 7s. 6d.

of a man far too little known, a man of rich gifts, strong and impressive character, and wide outlook, one of the most notable educational experts of our time, whose mind is worth having on many important subjects, as it is expressed in the numerous extracts given in this volume from his Note-books; the seventh part of the new Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, based on the Lexicon of William Gesenius as translated by Edward Robinson,1 an important instalment towards the completion of a work that will be invaluable to the Hebrew student and bring the highest honour to English and American scholarship; Markus-Studien,2 an attempt to show, by a detailed examination of Mark's Gospel, that our Synoptical Gospels may be explained by supposing that various forms of the Aramaic Logia had come into official use, that the Evangelical writers took these for the basis of their narratives, and that along with the Old Testament Scriptures parts of the Christian story were read in the Sacred Hebrew tongue in the public services of the Christian Synagogues of the oldest Christian time; the first part of what promises to be an important series of historical studies to be published under the direction of the vorderasiatische Gesellschaft, the subject of this first issue bearing the title Die Völker Vorderasiens,3 and giving a brief, popular, yet scholarly digest of the present condition of our knowledge of the origin, movements and culture of the various races connected with ancient Arabia, Asia Minor and Eastern Asia; a cheaper edition of the late Lord Sel-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By Francis Brown, D.D., Davenport, Professor of Hebrew and the Cognate Languages in the Union Theological Seminary, with the cooperation of S. R. Driver, D.D., and Charles A. Briggs, D.D. Part vii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899. 4to, pp. 529-616. Price 2s. 6d

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Von Dr. H. P. Chajes. Berlin: Schwetzke u. Sohn, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 78. Price M.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Der alte Orient. Gemeinverständliche Darstellungen, herausgegeben von der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. I. Jahrgang, Heft 1: Die Völker Vorderasiens, von Dr. Hugo Winckler, Privatdozent an der Universität Berlin. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price M.o.50.

borne's A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment,1 a very able statement from the Anglican point of view, devout in spirit and carefully reasoned, containing much with which those in all Churches who prize the spirituality of Christ's House will be in hearty sympathy, but much also that will seem strained to those outside the Anglican Communion, both in its inferences from historical events and arrangements and in its general outlook; an acute, philosophical discussion by Dr. Friedrich Wagner of the old question of Freiheit und Gesetzmässigkeit in den menschlichen Willensakten,2 dealing with the ambiguity in the idea of Will, the problems of absolute and relative freedom, the relations of the natural and the moral, positive and negative morality, and more particularly the different views of the world which follow on the denial and the affirmation of man's freedom; a Lecture by Nathan Soderbohm, pastor of the Swedish Church in Paris, entitled Die Religion und die soziale Entwickelung,<sup>3</sup> delivered at the Congress at Stockholm in 1897, and handling in an able and eloquent manner some of the outstanding social problems of the day; the second part of the Bible for Home Reading,4 edited with much skill by Mr. C. G. Montefiore, and furnished with well chosen comments and reflections for the use of Jewish parents and children; a volume entitled Sagesse Pratique, being the authorised French translation of the work of Albert Maria Weiss, containing many useful and suggestive reflections on Doubt and Negation, Truth,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> With an Introductory Letter to the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. By Roundell, Earl of Selborne. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvii. + 381. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Tübingen: Laupp; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. 96. Price M.1.60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Containing Selections from the Wisdom Literature, the Prophets and the Psalter, together with extracts from the Apocrypha. London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 799. Price 5s. 6d. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand sur la 6e edition. Par L'Abbé L. Collin. Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1898. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 485. Price F.3.50.

Spirit, Man, Redemption, God, Christianity, Grace, and similar topics; the third edition, revised and completed, of the Directoire de L'Enseignment religieux dans les Maisons d'Education, by the Abbé Ch. Dementhon, dealing in a useful and sensible way with the organisation and method of religious instruction, the qualities of the teacher, etc., and giving in an Appendix a pretty full bibliography; a pamphlet by James Gairdner, LL.D., on The English Reformation, What it was and what it has done, in which the extraordinary position is taken that the authority of the Pope, accepted as of divine origin, was the only "guarantee at the time against anarchy in Christendom"; the first four parts of A Vindication of Anglo-Catholic Principles,3 by J. C. Sharpe—a very useful collection of "original and selected treatises" by Bishop Coxe, of Western New York, the late Dr. Hook, the late Dr. Biber, and Canon Trevor, in defence of the "Scriptural and primitive doctrines of the Anglican Church from perversion by the revival of mediæval and papal corruptions of the truth"; a volume of Sermons by Charles Parsons Reichel, D.D., D.Lit., sometime Bishop of Meath, 4—a collection of twenty discourses, carefully composed, forcible in style, and with many suggestive ideas on such subjects as Jacob, Balaam, Esther, St. Paul, the Atonement, Creation, etc., and prefaced by a well-written Memoir by the author's son, Henry Rudolf Reichel, Principal of the University College of North Wales; a volume by Ramsden Balmforth on The Evolution of Christianity,5 consisting of a series of Sunday evening discourses delivered in the Free Protestant Church, Capetown, asserting the Unitarian position and expounding the principle of Liberal Thought and Religion as meaning belief in one God, in Duty, Righteousness, Retribution, Immortality, the Fatherhood of God and

<sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan, 1899. 8vo, pp. 20. Price 6d. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Paris: Delhomme et Briguet, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. 324.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Oxford and London: Parker & Co., 1898-1899. 8vo, pp. 228. Price is. each part.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> London: Macmillan, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xcviii. + 421. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 161. Price 2s. 6d.

the Brotherhood of man; Die Geschichte Jesu,¹ a vivid, concise and attractively written sketch of our Lord's Life, written on the supposition that it extended only over about one year, attempting to exhibit as exactly and fully as possible the actual historical Jesus, and to be followed by an Appendix giving the necessary scientific and critical explanations.

The first article in the Presbyterian and Reformed Review for the last quarter of 1899 is a study of the "Fatherhood of God, according to Christ," by the late Principal King of Winnipeg. The conclusion reached is that "in the connections in which it is set by the Saviour, Sonship implies and rests on, not simply creation in the image of God, community of nature with God in respect of intelligence and moral capacity, but also the possession through Christ of a life which makes man kindred with God in a still higher sense, and which lays the foundation for the presence and operation of a fatherly love on God's part, in the exercise of which He ministers to the needs of His children (Matt. vi. 32), embraces in His regard their every interest (Matt. x. 30), and listens to their prayers, giving them in answer thereto, 'good things,' the 'Holy Spirit,' that supreme good (Matt. vii. 11; Luke xi. 13)". Papers of importance are also contributed by Dr. James Lindsay, on "Mysticism: True and False": Dr. E. N. White, on "The Catholic Apostolic Church," and by others. Among the reviews of books we refer specially to Dr. Warfield's full and incisive account of recent discussions of the Kenotic doctrine.

The autumn issue of the American Journal of Theology contains a number of important Articles and Critical and Historical Notes. New Testament scholars will look with particular interest to the examination of Resch's Logia, by Professor Ropes of Harvard and Professor Torrey of Andover. The value of Resch's work as a collection of material is recognised, but his "inability to see what does and what does not constitute reasonable proof" is made the subject

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Erzählt von Dr. Paul Wilhelm Schmidt, ord. Professor der Theologie an der Universität Basel. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig u. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 175. Price M.3.

of strong animadversion. The general verdict of both reviewers is that, by this particular book at least, Dr. Resch has contributed nothing of any weight to the discussion of the origin of the Gospels. Bishop Hurst writes on the "Elizabethan Settlement of the Church of England," bringing out certain "palliations of the restored Church-State's persecutions of the Catholics," but eulogising the "splendid loyalty of the Roman Catholics in the face of unparalleled provocation". A paper by W. Rupp of Lancaster, Pa., on "Ethical Postulates in Theology," begins well, but ends in an assault on the "central dogmas of theology," which is of the cheap, "popular" order, and betrays remarkable ignorance of what these doctrines really are.

Thomas Boston¹ of Ettrick is a name to be held in honour by all who value piety and scholarship. Scotsmen do well to be proud of it. It would speak ill of the devout Scot if he became forgetful of it, notwithstanding the great change that has taken place in our ways of looking at many things since Boston's day. We owe much, therefore, to the enterprise of the publishers that puts this new edition of these remarkable Memoirs into our hand. The volume is a very handsome one, admirably printed and got up, and it is offered at a very low price. The introduction by Mr. Morrison is a very creditable bit of work, appreciative, in good taste, and putting us in possession of all that is necessary in the way of information. We trust the young people of Scotland, and especially students of theology, may obtain and master the book.

In the religious history of Scotland, in the first half of the nineteenth century, there are few more interesting figures than Thomas Erskine of Linlathen.<sup>2</sup> He was the correspondent of

<sup>2</sup> Erskine of Linlathen. Selections and Biography, by Henry F. Henderson, M.A., Dundee. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Large cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 310. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the Life, Time and Writings of the Reverend and Learned Thomas Boston, A.M., sometime minister of Simprin, afterwards at Ettrick. Divided into Twelve Periods. Written by himself, and addressed to his children. To which are added some original papers and letters to and from the author. New Edition, with Introduction and Notes by the Rev. George H. Morrison, M.A., Dundee. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Demy 8vo, pp. xxxvi. +520. Price 7s. 6d.

many of the most distinguished men of the day. He was the valued friend of Frederick Denison Maurice, Thomas Carlyle, and Thomas Chalmers. His life was that of a quiet recluse, yet he exercised an influence of a singular kind, and did much to modify the theological teaching of his day. It is difficult for the present generation to understand the claims that are made in his behalf, and it has always been felt peculiarly difficult to write anything like a Life of him. This is due largely to the fact that most of his peculiar teaching, all of it indeed that was of value, has passed into the accepted religious thought of our time, and has ceased to be in any sense distinctive.

If one is to understand Thomas Erskine he must go to his Letters, and read these again and again. Dr. Hannah made the best contribution to the appreciation of Erskine when he edited these Letters. But Mr. Henderson has given us a book which will also be of great use in keeping Erskine's memory green and helping us to realise our debt to him. The biography is brief, but done with taste and insight, and the selections from the writings are well chosen. Two things we regret in Mr. Henderson's otherwise able and appreciative volume. One is a tendency which appears now and again to have a dig at the preaching and theology of an earlier generation of Calvinists. This is best left to those outside. It never comes well from those who hold by the same creed as those thus stigmatised. It is quite possible, indeed, that the very superior theology of our generation may look to Mr. Henderson's successors, fifty years hence, as raw as the theology of some of his fathers looks now to Mr. Henderson. The second thing to regret is a grave injustice done to the saintly McCheyne. quotation is dragged in which, taken by itself, entirely misrepresents McCheyne, as if he had been an extreme type of the fire and brimstone theologian. Like all real preachers McCheyne gave their own place to the terrors of the law. But if any minister of his time was a preacher of the gospel of love in all pitying and entreating tenderness, it was McCheyne, and those who owed their spiritual life to him were numbered by the thousand. It is never just to represent a man by occasional words, instead of his whole life and teaching. If we were to select one or two of Erskine's occasional utterances, we should make quick work of his claims. He would be exhibited on the one hand as a very mystified thinker, and on the other as a tolerably hard theologian.

These things apart, however, Mr. Henderson is to be congratulated on the picture he gives us of Erskine. He is not blind to the defects of his hero. He recognises the vagueness of much of his writing, and his lack of logical precision and systematic thinking. But he shows us the beauty of his life and character, the softening influence of his teaching, and the great service he rendered in re-instating the intuitional, the inward, the experimental, in their proper places, both in practical religion and in theology. If the book turns men's thoughts back to this rare and attractive teacher, it will not have been written in vain.

We give a very cordial welcome to the most recent addition to the number of our theological journals—The Journal of Theological Studies.¹ It is intended to be a journal of solid, scholarly articles, and the opening number is quite of that character. It contains some notable papers. Among these we may refer to one by Canon Sanday on "Recent Research on the Origin of the Creed"; a very able paper by the Master of Balliol on "St. Anselm's Argument for the Being of God"; and two papers by the Rev. J. A. Cross and the Rev. R. B. Rackham on the "Acts of the Apostles," which make a somewhat striking and suggestive contrast. We wish the editors much success in the work which is begun so well.

The appearance of the first volume of the Messrs. Black's Encyclopædia Biblica is a notable event. The book is one of great importance, with conspicuous merits, but also with some drawbacks. It is admirably edited and no less admirably got up. We regret that limits of space make it necessary to postpone the review of this weighty contribution to our theological literature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co. Oct. 1899. Pp. 160. Price 3s. net. Annual subscription, post free, 10s.

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	WORLD; PRESBYTERIAN AND REFORMED REVIEW.

# Zoroaster the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

By A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York City. New York: Macmillan Company, 1899. Pp. xxii+314. Price 12s. 6d. net.

THE author of this monograph will need no introduction to the small company of English students interested in Parsism, and to the general reader it is enough to describe him as one of the two or three foremost living authorities on the difficult and fascinating subject he has made his own. The present work is a miscellaneous collection of information about equally divided between the expert and the layman. The main part of the book narrates all that is known about Zoroasterwhich could be told with embellishment in a very few pages -and the mass of legends which have grown up round his name. Much of this legendary accretion seems to us very foolish, but it is essential for us to know its contents, just as we have to know the mythology of Greece or the tale of the kings of Rome. It is moreover easy to pick out events which not only might have happened, but which fit in perfectly with the scanty indications in the Gâthâs, and may therefore be regarded as highly probable. When we have thus sifted the material here provided, we shall most of us feel rather unkindly to the stupid miracle-mongers who have blurred and defaced the portrait of one of the truest saints and profoundest thinkers the Gentile world has ever known. It is one more objectlesson in the hopeless impossibility of *inventing* the miraculous. In that realm Truth either shines out in moral grandeur which none but the blind can mistake, or revenges herself on falsehood by the transparent silliness which inevitably attends the inventor's best endeavours.

For students the main interest of Dr. Williams Jackson's book begins when the myths have been told. The appendices contain, first and foremost, reprints (brought up to date) of the invaluable papers from the Journal of the American Oriental

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Society, entitled respectively "On the Date of Zoroaster" and "Zoroaster's Native Place". The bewildering variety of opinion, ancient and modern, on these two questions is enough to make one despair of attaining truth. It is a light thing that the best modern authorities are divided between Adarbaijan and Bactria as the scene of the Prophet's activity. His date—even when we have set aside the modest estimate of B.C. 6000 formed in antiquity—wanders over a range beside which the difference between the earliest and latest dates of Joel seems puny. First-class scholars have made him little later than Moses; while within the last six years one of the greatest of Orientalists has made him wholly mythical, and found the authors of the "Hymns of Zoroaster" to be contemporaries of the Apostles. Dr. Jackson re-examines both questions with a wealth of learning and with judgment such as does not always go with learning. He decides for Adarbaijan as the Prophet's native place, but explains the varying tradition by showing reason to believe that he failed in his own country, wandered eastward, and only found in Bactria the royal convert whose help assured his success. The Zoroastrian reform then spread westward, and entered Media some generations after the Prophet's death. On the question of date the essay is a rehabilitation of the Parsi tradition which fixes Zarathushtra's life (as West works out the data) for B.C. 660-583. Dr. Jackson remarks, "I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the seventh century. The earlier the better." The observation betrays the consciousness that this date, though accepted because of the weight of evidence, cramps rather seriously the time needed for the spread of the faith from Bactria to Persia. According to Dr. West, the results of whose investigations on the calendar are reprinted here, Darius introduced the Zoroastrian names of the months, in place of the old Persian, in the year B.C. 505; and Dr. Jackson accepts this evidence as corroborative that Darius professed the reformed faith. It is weighty evidence, certainly; but does this chronology leave time for the immense development separating Gâthâs, and later, Avesta? The archaic forms and metres of the verse Gâthâs mark one period; the changed tone and thought of the prose Gâthic pieces demand the lapse of a generation, if not a century or more; and we then descend into an age in which the dialect is greatly changed, the metres are of a different cast, a rank growth of myth has sprung up round the founder's figure, and the religion is vitally modified by the importation of a scarcely veiled polytheism, and an elaborate and burdensome ritual conceived in the interests of a Dualism very different from the system of Zarathushtra himself. I do not say this cannot have taken place within what the absolute acceptance of the traditional chronology would limit as less than a century; but it seems to me more and more improbable. Dr. Jackson formerly, like his distinguished teacher Geldner, placed Zarathushtra before B.C. 1000, as Tiele does still.

Another extremely valuable appendix is the collection of classical passages referring to Zoroaster. I trust that when Dr. Jackson publishes his greatly-needed companion volume on the Zoroastrian religion, he will give us a similar collection. In the keen disputes which still rage as to the antiquities of Parsism and its Prophet the judicious use of the classical testimonies is essential.

Other items, which must only be named, are the excellent bibliography and the appendices on Zoroaster's name, and on sculptures supposed to represent him. An admirable map of Iran adds to the usefulness of the book. It is amusing to find that Ragha—of all places!—has contrived to slip out, though named in the index.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In shortened form, and in German, this important work is coming out now in Geiger and Kuhn's Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie.

# Geschichte der Religion im Altertum

bis auf Alexander den Grossen, von C. P. Tiele. Deutsche autorisierte Ausgabe von G. Gehrich. II. Band. Die Religion bei den iranischen Völkern. Erste Hälfte. Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1898. M. 4. Pp. 187.

Many of the qualities of this book, which appeared in the original Dutch rather more than four years ago, will be anticipated by any who have studied the science of religion, a subject which no one would think of following without the guidance of Professor Tiele at one point or other. On the religion of the Avesta, Tiele speaks with special authority. I shall not attempt to give a definite account of a book which, in its contents and arrangement, naturally follows a beaten track, but shall select some of the points on which Tiele's judgment is of interest. It should be stated that as Tiele himself revised the translation, making alterations where his own statements called for correction or addition, we have here the latest and fullest account of the earlier Avestan religion at present accessible.

The introductory chapter on "Sources" brings us at once to a highly debatable question—the evidence of Herodotus. Tiele's view, explained more fully in a later chapter (p. 33), is that "the coincidences [between Herodotus and the Avesta] are too numerous and too remarkable for us to be able to doubt that he really had the Zarathushtrian religion in view". He observes that Herodotus naturally depicts the popular side of the religion which the Inscriptions assume in official language, and the Avesta sets forth in ecclesiastical style. This is suggestive; and when we find Tiele, Geldner, and Williams Jackson on the same side, assisted now by West's discovery that Darius introduced Zoroastrian names of the months a few years after setting up the Behistân Inscription, it is difficult to hold the fort longer. But no satisfactory answer has yet been made to the objection that the Inscrip-

tions and Herodotus agree in silence upon the Prophet Zarathushtra and his concept Angra Mainyu. I feel strongly that at any rate the Vendîdâd—that is, on my reading, the Semitic Magian reconstruction of Mazdeism—was not a part The new calendar, with the names of of Darius's creed. Amshaspands prominent, might be a sign of Darius's accepting Zarathushtra's teaching. But had that teaching included the later Dualism, how should we explain the absence on the inscription of Angra's name, with the recurrent declaration that Auramazda creates everything (evil apparently included), and the notable curse: "Auramazda slav thee"? All this is consistent with the Parsism of the prose Gâthâs of the generation after the Prophet: it seems absolutely impossible to fit it in with the Magianism which, as I still believe, was established in Persia by Artaxerxes Mnemon.

The Avesta is next described, first according to its contents in Sassanian times, and then in its present condition. Tiele attempts the work of higher criticism in a field where criticism has reached more widely divergent results than anywhere in Hebrew literature. There is perhaps fair reason to hope that opinion will settle down on conclusions not greatly differing from those for which Tiele soberly argues here. On the one side there is emphasised the high antiquity of the Gâthâs, and the gulf that separates them from the later literature; on the other, the lateness of some of the Yashts. At least two centuries must be left between the Gâthâs and the oldest part of the later Avesta, which itself cannot begin much after B.C. 800. The only serious rival to this chronology is that of the Parsi tradition, which places Zarathushtra in the seventh century B.C.; but even Dr. Williams Jackson, who has so ably rehabilitated the traditional date, seems conscious of the too narrow limits of time within which lengthy processes have to be restricted. Tiele of course has to reckon with Darmesteter's revolutionary hypothesis,1 which it is needless to say he utterly rejects.

<sup>1</sup> Stated last by its author, shortly before his early death, in the second edition of his Avesta, in S.B.E., vol. iv.

He was himself one of its earliest and most effective critics,1 and never has a brilliant paradox been more completely exposed. It may be doubted whether the theory that the Gâthâs were modelled after Philo would have been thought worth refuting had it emanated from any less authority. That such a prince of scholars should have failed to realise the notes of antiquity in the "Hymns of Zoroaster" must always remain one of the miracles in the history of criticism. Darmesteter expects us to believe that Parsi priests of the first century A.D. solemnly forged the Gâthâs in a language long extinct; while others, in a dialect not much less dead, produced the rest of the Avesta. Their consummate skill may be seen from the fact—to name one point among many -that they have artfully left us verses that would not scan until Western scholars brought in Vedic rules and showed that numbers of words had to be rewritten in more archaic form.2

On one point perhaps Tiele need not have been careful to answer Darmesteter—the acceptance of a reference to Buddha in the "questions of the heretic Gaotema".3 Of course the Vedic Gōtama is closer to Gaotema than is the patronymic Gautama, but "questions" is very characteristic, and the lateness of some Yashts, on Tiele's own showing, makes it easy to suppose a polemic such as is thoroughly in keeping with the tone of Avestan dogmatism. This is virtually what Tiele himself postulates when he deals (p. 84) with the Vendîdâd passages (x., 9 and xix., 43) where the Hindu gods Indra and Nâsatya are adopted as demons: instead of thrusting them back into the common Indo-Iranian period, he sensibly points to the Avestan passages being very late, and allows an anti-Hinduistic polemic. Why not allow the same thing for Buddhism in an isolated place? (Of course Darmesteter's further comparison of the demon Bûiti with Buddha is hopelessly unsound.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Revue de l'histoire des religions, xxix., p. 68 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thus the name  $\hat{A}$  rmaiti scans as four syllables, and must therefore ir Gâthic have been closer to the Vedic A rámati.

<sup>3</sup> Yasht xiii., 16.

Closely connected with Tiele's view of the prevalence of a true Zoroastrian Mazdayasna in Achaemenian Persia, is his opinion (p. 52 f.) that the Medes were Aryan. His most effective argument is that the three languages of the great Inscription at Behistân in Media are old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian, which shows that the Medes understood the Persian. But since we know that one of their five divisions (Herodotus, i., 101) was Arvan ('Αριζαντοί), might not Aryan language have prevailed without Aryan blood? It is at any rate precarious to assert (p. 54) that Fravartis (Φραόρτης) and Uvakhšatara (Κυαξάρης) express "pure Mazdayasnian-Zarathushtrian conceptions". It is not alleged that Fravartiš means "guardian angel" (Av., fravaši); and surely, if it is not that, it cannot be a religious term at all, unless we are to suppose that the Avestan technical meaning had not yet developed. But the doctrine of the Fravashis appears in the latest Gâthic period (though not in Zarathushtra's own time), and this, with Tiele's dates, is much earlier than the use of the name for a Median King. Since no one would think of giving the name "guardian angel" to a child, or adopting it as a title in later life, is not the very occurrence of the name proof that Avestan religion had not yet penetrated Media? This becomes of special importance when we come to the question whether the Magi are native or foreign to the Avesta religion. Tiele decides for the former, alleging that their Babylonian origin depends only on the title Rab-Mag (Jer. xxxix. 3). He ignores the very important evidence of Ezek. viii. 17, where an indisputable feature of Vendîdâd ritual, the "branch" (barsom, Strabo's "bundle of tamarisk")2 held "to the nose" during sun-worship is found in Jerusalem before the Exile. It is I believe hopeless to explain this passage except on the theory that the Magi were a foreign priestly caste with a cult and ritual of their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The proof may be seen in Weissbach's prolegomena to the Achaemenian Inscriptions of the second kind, Assyriol. Bibl. ix. Strabo says the Persians and Medes were δμόγλωττοι παρὰ μικρόν.

 $<sup>^2</sup>$ τὰς δὲ ἐπφδὰς ποιοῦνται πολὺν χρόνον ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δεσμὴν κατέχοντες (χν., 733).

own, which was only later tacked on to Zoroastrianism. The Gâthâs have no ritual; the unreformed Mazdeism as portrayed by Herodotus has hardly any. It seems probable that the ritual of the Vendîdâd, with its barsom, its "towers of silence," its killing of noxious animals, and its mechanical dualism, is to be set down to the Magi, who, after failing to obtain political power through Gaumāta the Magus, the pseudo-Smerdis, made a clever bid for sacerdotal power. Thus they adopted the faith in order to corrupt it, insinuating themselves as āthravanō, fire-priests, so that their name might not prejudice their law-book when, in the later Achaemenian period (?), it found its way into Persia. With many of Tiele's criticisms on Spiegel, the leading teacher of the doctrine of Semitic influence in the Avesta (p. 124 f.), I am disposed to agree; but the criticisms do not affect the theory just stated.

There are several other points which invite discussion in this interesting book, but space forbids. I will only raise a mild protest against the unnecessary doubt as to the historical character of the Gâthic Zarathushtra (p. 99 ff.). I cannot see that his apotheosis has really begun in the Gâthâs. A modern poet might address the Creator in the words of Yasna, xliii., 5, "I saw Thee at the Creation of the world," especially if he goes on to add "and at the last end of creation" (the final Judgment): the "seeing" is a mental act which can be predicated of any prophet.

Students will wait eagerly for the second part of this work, which will carry the story on through the later Avestan period. When will the English translator step in?

1 Herodotus, i., 140.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

### A History of the English Church.

Edited by the Very Rev. W. R. W. Stephens, B.D., Dean of Winchester, and the Rev. William Hunt, M.A. Vol. I. The English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest (597-1066). By William Hunt, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xix. + 444. Price 5s. net.

THE first volume of the new history of the English Church, edited by the Dean of Winchester and Mr. Hunt, has now made its appearance. It is from the pen of one of the editors, Mr. Hunt, and sets a high standard of thoroughness to the volumes which are to follow. It covers the Anglo-Saxon period. Six more volumes are to follow in completion of the work, which promises to be a most valuable chronicle of the long history of our National Church. In addition to the Dean of Winchester, who is responsible for vol. ii., Canon Capes, Dr. Gairdner, Mr. Frere, Mr. Hutton, and Canon Overton will write the succeeding volumes. Their names are a sufficient guarantee that the complete history will reach a high level of excellence.

The Dean of Winchester, in a general introduction, observes that interest in the history of the English Church has been steadily increasing of late years, and therefore the want has been felt of a more complete presentment of it than has hitherto been attempted. Each of the seven volumes can be bought separately, and will have its own index. The price also will be a moderate one. With all these attractions the new history bids fair to become a standard and popular work.

To turn now to the volume before us. As the author observes in his preface, Canon Bright's Early English Church History only carries us down to A.D. 709, and, for the remaining portion of the period, this is the first attempt to write a continuous history of the English Church before the Norman

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Conquest with any degree of fulness. Mr. Hunt disclaims advocating any party principles in his work—his one aim having been to present a thoroughly truthful picture of the Church during the period. In this aim he has succeeded remarkably well. We may indeed detect something of a leaning to the monastic ideal, just as we undoubtedly have an exactly opposite tendency in Dean Hook's record of the period in the first volume of his Lives of the Archbishops. But it is only fair to say that Mr. Hunt, who maintains a discreet silence as to the merits or demerits of his great predecessor's work, honestly endeavours to view the great questions of a bygone age as far as possible in the light of that age allowing for their more limited point of view. men of that time could not be expected to foresee the evils which might result from what seem to us an unnatural repudiation of home ties, and an extravagant asceticism. They only saw two alternatives—one, the luxury, nay even licentiousness, of a married secular clergy; the other, the absolute renunciation of the married state, and the stern discipline of a monastic life. There were no refined Christian homes in country parsonages presenting to the people an ideal of life, perhaps not inferior to, and certainly more human than, that of the monastic state. The secular married priests were, without exception, men who, enjoying the revenues of old monastic foundations, had, owing to the unsettled state of the country, abandoned the original rules of their society, and settled down to a life little different from that of the upper classes of the day, from whose ranks the clergy were then recruited. Mr. Hunt has traced in the monastic reforms of St. Dunstan a quasi-democratic movement, by which fresh vigour was infused into the work of the Church, and the easy-going secular ecclesiastics of the day were supplanted by men of lower social status, but a more zealous and self-denying spirit.

Similarly Dean Hook was, perhaps, somewhat too severe in his judgment of men like the great apostle of Germany, St. Boniface, for their extreme compliance to the extravagant claims of the Pope, which, in the course of centuries, rivetted the fetters of Papal domination upon this country, and enslaved men's minds to a spiritual despotism, from which we have not even yet been fully emancipated. But St. Boniface and other great men of this period, who were equally subservient to the Pope, as, e.g., Alcuin, were only the creatures of their day. The belief that the Pope was the Vicar of St. Peter, and was to be venerated as St. Peter himself, was universally diffused at that time, and the spiritual power of the Popes was at least a valuable check on the tyranny and rapacity of worldly kings and barons.

If we are prepared, then, to accept such general conditions of the age as these, and not to quarrel with the saints and godly men of the Anglo-Saxon Church, because they were all of them monks and papists, we shall find in the picture of the age presented to us in these pages a great deal both of interest and instruction.

Mr. Hunt has wisely passed over the countless miracles related by the monkish chroniclers with very scanty notice. He does not, indeed, wholly discard all the alleged miracles as incredible. Here, however, we may prefer to share the healthy scepticism of Dean Hook, though we may not, like him, regard the legends of the age as largely made up of the inventions of idle vagabond monks, who came at last to believe in the creations of their own fancy.

If there is one omission in Mr. Hunt's work, it is, perhaps, a due statement and appreciation of the apocryphal literature, on which the Church of that day was nourished. It is obvious from the writings of St. Aldhelm, e.g., that he believed the "Acts of St. John," which relate that that apostle, amongst other wonderful things, changed grass into gold, were as credible as the gospel itself, though of course he regarded them as deutero-canonical, i.e., not suitable for public reading in Church. Dean Hook quotes in his Lives of the Archbishops (vol. i., pp. 165-167) Thomas of Elmham's catalogue of the books in the library of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, amongst which we find: "The conflict of the apostles Peter and Paul with Simon Magus and their Passions. Also the Passion of St. Andrew the Apostle.

Also the Passion of St. James, the Passion of St. Thomas the Apostle, the Passion of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, the Passion of St. Matthew, Apostle and Evangelist, the Passion of the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude, the life of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist."

Lipsius has told us what a multitude of monkish MSS. of the apocryphal Acts he had to collate in compiling his great work on the subject. It is clear, therefore, that Canterbury was no exception, and thus from the very foundation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, there must have been a plethora of this class of apocryphal literature, which I need not say is full of the most impossible legends. Yet to our simple forefathers, with their natural predisposition to a belief in the miraculous, these popular legendary accretions of Christianity would not only present no difficulty, but doubtless made their change from paganism to Christianity easier. Certainly for ages after the introduction of Christianity into these islands, the cults of popular saints, and the miracles believed to have been wrought at their shrines, as well as those of the apostles, constituted a far larger element in the religious belief of the people than the dogmas of the Creed.

It was, of course, far otherwise with the more educated portion of the community. Mr. Hunt has very carefully collected all the scattered facts which have come to light about the various schools of learning which existed at this period, and which were, in a very real sense, the pioneers of classical and religious education in this country. noted the various references to the subject which will be found on pp. 65, 79, 96, 136, 168, 190, 200, 209, 232, 242, 277, 342, 359, 377. But one desiderates a special chapter on the point, tracing the genesis and relationships of the various schools. Thus, after marking the partial beginnings of an educational system before Theodore, the writer might have noted the first attempts at something like a national system of education which followed the extraordinary outburst of educational zeal consequent upon the foundation of the great school of Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian.

The schools of Wessex and Northumbria, though existing before in germ, received an enormous impetus from the school of Theodore at Canterbury. We see the results in the great learning of Aldhelm of Malmesbury on the one hand, and Bede and Alcuin on the other. The great reputation of Aldhelm in Wessex, and Bede in Northumbria, arrested the flow of students to the Celtic schools of Ireland. and established the Anglo-Saxon educational system as our first national system of education. We gather something from the letters of Aldhelm as to the rivalry between the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon schools. The latter triumphed, just as the Roman method of calculating Easter and other Roman practices triumphed, because, coming as they did straight from Rome, the centre of culture and civilisation, they were more up-to-date than the customs and systems of the isolated Celtic Church.

It might be an interesting task for some one, though rather a wearisome one, to collect the Latin grammars and prosodies published by various Anglo-Saxon scholars such as Aldhelm and Alcuin. They sometimes take the form of a dialogue between students. Few people are aware of the extraordinary facility of the scholars of this age (including learned nuns and abbesses), in the composition of Latin verse. No doubt the Latin is sometimes turgid and stilted. But it is not always so, and the marvellous rapidity with which our Saxon forefathers assimilated Roman culture and Roman literature might be compared with the phenomenal growth of Western culture in Japan at the present day.

There is, perhaps, too little in the work before us about the typical great men of the period. Bede, of course, receives due notice, but rather more might have been said of men like Aldhelm, Boniface, and Alcuin. Aldhelm's literary fame is evident from the request of Cellanus, an Irish saint, that he would send him some of his compositions, and, long after his death, Lul covets some specimens of his work. His great popularity is evidenced by the many miracles believed to have been wrought by his intercession after his death. He became a favourite patron saint. But his literary

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remains are, it must be admitted, written, for the most part, in strange pompous Latin, abounding, according to Hahn, in Græcisms derived from Theodore, and Africanisms derived from Hadrian. But Mr. Hunt traces his peculiar style of Latin to another source. But while Aldhelm is often difficult to translate, Boniface and Alcuin are easy enough, and the collections of the letters of these great men are full of interest and instruction. Mr. Hunt has, indeed, availed himself of them to a certain extent, but he might have given us a fuller and more living picture of the men themselves. He has. perhaps, crowded his canvas too much with a multitude of names, which leave a blurred impression; whereas a fuller and bolder outline of the character and personality of some of the greater men would have left a truer and more adequate notion in the reader's mind of the general type of saint and scholar which the age was capable of producing. It was a type which had many beauties and several limitations. chief thing which strikes one is the deep affection which shines through even the formal and somewhat exaggerated epistolary style of the day. And yet, however affectionate, the language of Boniface and Alcuin is stern and uncompromising in dealing with sin and rebuking immorality even in kings. That it was an age of shocking immorality is also to be inferred from the Penitentials attributed to Theodore, Bede, and Egbert. Another delicate trait in Alcuin is his unfailing courtesy, while his deeply religious temperament is evinced by his repeated requests to his friends for mutual intercession. His letters reflect also the general virtues and vices of his age, and give us an interesting insight into the Adoptian heresy, in his remarks on which Alcuin displays himself an ardent advocate of the doctrine of Christ's Divinity. Here, too, we get glimpses of his own superstitions, such as his belief in the value of relics, or again we find him advocating the absolute separation between the civil and spiritual power, a doctrine which was to culminate in the Hildebrandine theory of the two swords.

Doubtless, considerations of space hindered the author from indulging in any such detailed description of AngloSaxon worthies. But we cannot but regret this, as also that many interesting and valuable illustrations of the history of the English Church contained in these letters of Boniface and Alcuin should have been (perhaps compulsorily) excluded.

There is one more omission which we may note before passing on to the more congenial task of illustrating the author's real and scholarly grasp of his subject by one or two quotations. And this is that he has said nothing as to the origin of tithes. He has, indeed, referred to the fourfold division of the tithe between the bishops, the clergy, the poor and the fabric fund of the several minsters, with a reservation of a part of the tithe in favour of any chapelry with a burial ground attached. But he might have referred to the valuable note on p. 637 of the third volume of Haddan and Stubbs, where the legal origin of tithes in this country is traced to the Legatine Council of A.D. 787, the decrees of which were accepted by the kings and witan of Mercia and Northumbria, and probably also by the witan of Wessex. It was enacted by this Council in its 17th canon "that all men shall be zealous to pay tithes of all they possess, for this is the Lord's due, etc.". A little earlier (A.D. 779) the payment of tithes had been made obligatory by Charlemagne on the continent. If for no other reason, this period should have an abiding interest for the English Churchman, because in it his Church received the main part of those ancient endowments which she still enjoys, in spite of many attempts to deprive her of them.

But these are only, after all, slight drawbacks in a work of singular merit. Every available source of information has been ransacked, and only those who have examined the original authorities can appreciate the amount of painstaking labour which has gone to form the author's work. He is to be congratulated, indeed, on the great and laborious investigations of other scholars who have compiled materials for the study of the age, and he makes a special acknowledgment in this respect to the Bishop of Oxford in the dedication of his work. But, with all such helps, he deserves our gratitude for his own careful industry. One or two remarks on salient Vol. X.—No. 2.

points must bring this review to a close. Mr. Hunt frequently points out the part which the Church played in the unification of the State, and how important for the growth of the nation was the central government of the Church from Canterbury. The Church under Theodore attained a solidarity which at that time was entirely absent in the State. For it was not until Alfred that the little kingdoms of the Heptarchy finally coalesced into one English nation. The advantages which accrued to the English Church from the introduction of new methods and discipline by Archbishop Theodore are well described on pp. 128-130, from which the following may be quoted:—

"The Church needed to be saved from the dangers and puerilities of a morbid asceticism. A large number of its ministers were monks, and the monasticism of the Scots and their followers had, as has already been said, a strong tendency to exaggeration. The English-clergy, monks and laity—needed to be taught the relative importance in the Christian life of active work and contemplative devotion. English monasticism had to be saved from the follies of overstrained asceticism. Its salvation was to be effected by the diversion of monastic zeal into new and more wholesome channels. This was another task for Theodore, who was to fulfil it by making the English monasteries places of secular as well as religious learning, and leading his disciples and followers of both sexes to engage in education. Other interests and occupations, and especially foreign missions, speedily exercised a similar influence on the lives of men and women under monastic vows, and for a while monastic life in England under its best conditions was a model of noble and unselfish energy."

The wholesale conversion of tribes at the first introduction of Christianity is well commented on as follows (p. 46): "In an early state of society the individual was religiously of small account; the tribe or clan was everything. Religion was the bond of the community, and the worshipper of strange gods, the man who deserted the god of his tribe, and sought help from another source, was false to his tribe, and offended

against its most sacred convictions. . . . Each royal house claimed descent from Woden, the earth-ruler; and in virtue of this descent, the fittest of its members had a right to be chosen king. In this god-descended king the English tribe or nation saw the sign of its independence. As their religion was a tribal bond, and the king was the expression of tribal or national life, the religion of the king was naturally adopted by his people. For it is clear, as will be seen later, that English kings did not change their religion without consultation with their constitutional advisers. With them conversion was not merely a matter that concerned themselves; it was an affair of state. . . . English heathenism was in a sense an established religion, and the conversion of a king in like manner established Christianity in the kingdom. So that, from the conversion of Æthelbert on to the present day, the English Church has always been an Established Church; it was established in each heptarchic kingdom when the king, with the consent of his witan, became a Christian, and the union of the several kingdoms under one king did not alter its position."

J. H. WILKINSON.

### [SECOND NOTICE.]

### The Origin of the "Original Hebrew" of Ecclesiasticus.

By D. S. Margoliouth, M.A., Laudian Professor of Arabic in the University of Oxford. London: James Parker & Co., 1899. 4to, pp. 20.

WHEN writing my first notice, I was labouring under the disadvantage of the volume containing the Cambridge Fragments being still in the press. My obligations to my publishers compelled me to limit my references to these fragments to a few hints and some half-dozen of quotations. The volume is now published, and I am at liberty to quote from it in a less constrained manner. The British Museum Fragments, edited by the Rev. G. S. Margoliouth, have also appeared in the meantime in the Jewish Quarterly Review, and are now public property. Upon the appearance of the Cambridge Fragments, Rev. Professor D. S. Margoliouth, of Oxford, declared in the Expository Times (August) that he does not think "the Cambridge fragments will be defended by any one". I may as well say at once that this prophecy has not been fulfilled-Professors Smend, Strack, Bacher, König, Halevy, Fränkel, Kautzsch, Nöldeke, Ryssel, Rev. G. Margoliouth of the British Museum, and a large number of other scholars having avowed their belief in the authenticity of the Fragments.

The Cambridge Fragments present the following phenomena:—

(1) They present us with a new MS. of Ben Sira termed by the editors MS. A, which gives no real marginal glosses, and, as I have pointed out in my introduction (p. 11), shows a closer agreement with the Syriac against the Greek than MS. B. This latter, it should be known, comes from the codex of which the Lewis-Gibson Fragment, the Bodleian and the British Museum Fragments form a part. Lest,

however, this approximation to the Syriac should lead to wrong conclusions, as I suspect indeed it already has done, I will at once add that however closely MS. A, as compared with MS. B, agrees with the Syriac, it differs from it no less fundamentally in many places. This will be at once apparent when the following verses from the Hebrew are compared with the Syriac version. Not only does the Hebrew differ in meaning, and in the order of the verses, but it also gives in many cases whole hemistichs or even verses of which the Syriac has no trace. The list is not exhaustive.

3	9	Heb.		שרש	Syriac	differs.
22	16	22		ומכעים · · ·	27	22
,,	21	22		ומכוסה · · ·	22	99
99	22	97		עסק	99	,,
: :	23	22		וביותר	22	99
22	28	27		אלתרוץ	72	omits.
4	2	99		ואל · · · נפש	99	differs.
99	3ª	27			22	differs.
99	6 10d	99		צורו		omits.
	II -			ותעיד	27	differs.
22	19	2.7		ווגעיו	22	omits.
22	26	13		שבלת	39	differs.
99	27(1)	"		11/20	22	order differs.
77	28(1)				22	omits.
5	2				22	22
77	4 <sup>b</sup> (1)				22	7.7
6					22	differs.
"	2b 9				77 29	omits.
22	IO				79	77
22	17b(1)				99	differs.
22	22b				22	differs.
22	22 (1)				22	order differs.
99	22 (2) 29 <sup>b</sup>				22	omits.
22	30				22	"
7				תתבונן	22	differs.
27	5 7 <sup>b</sup>	27		1-1-13 13	27	
27	15				22	omits.
22	17(1)				22	99
22	18	99		זלוי	) 22	differs.
12	3 <sup>b</sup>			(See notes.)	) ,,	99
22	5°	99		בכל	. 22	omits.
22	9 <sup>a</sup>	99		רע		differs.

12	14 <sup>b</sup>			Syriac	omits.
99	15			22	11
22	17	Heb.	יחפש עקב	99	differs.
13	6ь			22	99
99	7			22	99
22	8	99	תָרהב מאד	99	9.9
29	II		לחפש	>>	99
99	IIq	99		22	"
22	12			22	99
22	17(1)			22	omits.
99	20			22	differs.
22	28b			79	diners.
14	Ip			22	omits.
19			. 1. /2	99	
22	10(1)	99	יול מים (Syr. probably reads)	99	differs.
99	IIc			99	omits.
77	12ab			99	omits.
99	14b			22	omits.
99	16b	99	כי	33	2.9
99	19	11	ירקבו ירקבו (Syr. p. r. בדוה ירקבו)	"	differs.
15	6	99	(Syr. p. r. אימצא (מצא)	"	99
"	13	99	יאננה	99	"
99	15b			99	omits.
22	17 <sup>b</sup>		,	99	99
22	18	29	וחוזה כל	99	differs.
22	19ª			12	differs.
22	20b			27	22
16	3c	"	ומאחרית זדון	99	omits.
99	IIc	99	רעל	29	differs.
22	22			"	omits.

(2) The second point of importance to notice is the large number of doublets given by the text. This feature is common to MSS. A and B, as well as to the British Museum Fragments. The fact that in some cases one verse of the doublet is represented by the Greek, and the other by the Syriac, and vice versà, was advanced by Professor Margoliouth as a proof of a dual rendering corresponding to the two versions. A proper examination, however, will show that this hypothesis is as inadequate to account for the existence of all the doublets as it was in the case of the marginal glosses of the Oxford Fragments. I confine myself in this notice to some of the doublets contained in the Cambridge volume.

```
Agrees closer with Greek (?).)
 4
        19(1)
                                             Syriac.
99
                                             Syriac.
12
        14(1)(2)
                                     ,,
        15
                                             Greek.
22
        15b
                                             Greek.
15
                                     ,,
        15 (1)
                                             Syriac.
99
                                      ,,
         3<sup>b</sup>
16
                                             Greek
                                     ,,
                          ,,
     (reading κόπον עקבותם for \tauόπον).
                     Agrees closer with Syriac.
          3ª (I)
 22
          3°
                                             Syriac
 99
                     Agrees closer with Greek
         3<sup>d</sup>.
99
                (ומאחרית זדון).
        11 (1)
                     Agrees closer with Greek.
30
                                             Syriac.
        12
99
                                      ,,
                           ,,
                                             Greek.
        17
                                             Syriac.
        17(1)
99
                                      ,,
                           99
        20<sup>b</sup>
                                             Greek. )
22
                                      ,,
                           99
        20b (I)
                                             Syriac.
,,
                                             Syriac.
31
         4
                                     ,,
                          99
                                             Greek. (?)
         4(1)
 ,,
                                     ,,
                          99
                                            neither.
        10(1)
99
                                     ,,
        10(2)
 22
                          9.9
                                     99
                                             Syriac.
32
         4(1)
                                     ,,
         5
                                             Greek.
                                     ,,
 99
         5 (1)
                                             Syriac.)
                                     ,,
 9.9
                          9.9
                                             Greek.
         6
                                     ,,
                                             neither.)
         9(I)
 33
                          23
                                      22
                                             Greek.
        IO
                                     99
 99
                          99
                                             Greek (partly).
        II
                                     ,,
                                             Syriac (partly).
        II (I)
 99
                                      9.9
                                             neither.)
        13
                                      ,,
                                             Greek.
        15
 99
                          93
                                      2.3
                                             Greek.
        14
 99
                          99
        14(1)
                                             Syriac.
 22
                                      99
                                             Greek. )
        16
                                      ,,
 22
                          22
        16 (1)
                                             Syriac. J
 99
                          33
                                     99
```

32	17 (1)	Agrees clo	oser with	Syriac.)
,,	18a	,,	,,	Greek.
,,,	21, 22	,,	,,	Greek.)
,,	22 (I)	,,	,,	Syriac.
,,	22 (2)	,,	,,	Syriac.
,,	23	,,	,,	Greek.

It is interesting to notice that in the majority of the doublets agreeing with the versions, the verses corresponding with the Greek come first; whilst on the supposition of Professor Margoliouth (that the Fragments are based on the Syriac version but were improved upon subsequently by the translator's acquaintance with a person possessing the knowledge of the Greek language), we should expect the verses representing the Syriac, or at least most of them, to come first and the Greek to follow.

It will further be seen that some doublets are marked in the list as agreeing with neither version. The reason for this is that they are either omitted by both the Greek and the Syriac (as in 31, 10 (1), 10 (2)), or at least by the Syriac (as in 32, 9 (1), 10 and 32, 13, 15). This shows at once the inadequacy of Professor Margoliouth's theory as an explanation of all the doublets. For, according to this theory, each verse of the doublet should represent one of the versions. But a closer examination of the contents of these doublets will demonstrate the insufficiency of the explanation even in cases where the Greek and the Syriac are both represented in our text. Thus with regard to the first doublet in MS. B. of the Cambridge volume, Professor Margoliouth tells us 30, 12 is also rendered twice; the Greek has θλάσσον, the Syriac pakka: the first is rendered רציץ, the second בקע. poor lad's loins are to be split!" (Expository Times, 528). The doublet in question runs thus-

: כפתן על חי תפגע רציץ מתניו שעודנו נער: 11 (1).

ביף ראשו בנערותו ובקע מתניו כשהוא קטן: 12ª. Professor Margoliouth pounces on the רציץ and draws his conclusion from it, but he in no way tries to account for the first hemistich of this verse which does not occur in the

Greek, the Greek agreeing with 12<sup>a</sup>. But any one who is at all familiar with the Bible in Hebrew (not necessarily in forty-two languages) will at once recognise in this verse a paraphrase of Ezek. xxix. 7.

תרוץ ובקעת להם כל כתף והעמדת להם כל מתנים.

As I have pointed out in my notes ad loc., we must emend הבקע for כתפר, and הבקע for שנע but the corruption is a very old one, and some copyist (being ignorant of the parallel passage in Ezekiel) emended בפהן into

The case stands somewhat similar with the doublet 31, 4,

and 4 (1)

יגע עני לחסר ביתו ואם ינוח יהיה צריך: 4. : עמל עני לחסר כחו ואם ינוח לא נחה לו: 4 (1). With reference to this Professor Margoliouth says: "Both the Greek and the Syriac tell us that the poor man labours in the deficiency of this life" (i.e., livelihood), but "the Syriac word for 'life' means also 'house' and the Greek word for "life" (Biov) is very like a word meaning 'strength' (Bias). Hence we have two alternative renderings, one with 'house' and one with 'strength'." (Guardian, 8th November, 1899). But a glance at the text will show that the differences between the two verses are not confined to the alternatives of ביתו and verse 4 (ו) adding in the second hemistich the לאנחה לו (cf. notes ad loc.), which is to be found in neither version, both agreeing in this clause with 4b. Besides, if the ביתנ of verse 4 was meant to represent the Syriac, we should expect that it would also reproduce the words מסכנא of this version. But as a matter of fact the corresponding words עמ'ל עני occur at the beginning of 4 (I) which, according to Professor Margoliouth, represents the Greek. Professor Margoliouth also fails to tell us what the original Hebrew was. It seems he would think that it was חסרי חיים. But it is evident that is right, the verse in Ben Sira

יגע עני לחסר כחו ואם ינוח

having been suggested by Job iii. 17,

ושם ינוחו יגיעי כח.

The phrase חסרי כח also occurs in B. T. Tractate Makkoth 23b. The ביתו of course is only an early corruption of שניון which the Greek again misread היין.

As to the doublet 30, 17, 17 (1)

עומר מכאב נאמן ונוחת עולם מכאב נאמן 17. מוב למות מחיים רעים ולירד שאול מכאב עומד 17 (1), of which Professor Margoliouth says: "the Hebrew renders the verse twice; for ĕμμονον it has נאמן, for Kayyam "עומד (Expository Times, ibid.), it should be observed that both מומד as referring to maladies are good Hebrew words. The former has a parallel in Deut. xxviii. 59:—

מחיים רעים ונאמנים. The marginal gloss מחיים רעים ונאמנים against 17b should accordingly be corrected into כחלים רעים. Probably the original reading was מחלי רע ונאמן suggested by the Scriptural verse just quoted. The latter again (עומר)

is to be found in Lev. xii. 5, הנגע עמד.

Now, as already pointed out in my first notice (Critical Review, ix., 397), it is not impossible that in some cases interpolations derived from the Syriac were made in our text. The state of the Hebrew text of Ben Sira known to the Rabbis, notoriously full of Aramaisms, interpolations and additions (cf. Monatschrift für Wissenschaft d. Judenthums, xiv., p. 178, seq.), would only favour the smuggling in of a few verses translated from the Syriac into our text. Still one must hesitate before declaring a verse in Ben Sira, even in the case of doublets to be a mere translation. For not only do we find a tendency in the copyists of Ben Sira to give alternatives of words even in cases where the Syriac omits the whole verse, as for instance, אוצר for אוצר (41, 12-14). ונות for זנות (41, 17; 42, 10), מרדות for מרדות (42, 8), but even the Canonical writings are not free from such differing expressions in verses repeated in various places, but evidently coming from the same source.

Here are a few instances:-

ומי צור מבלעדי אלהינו 2 Sam. xxii. 32. " אולתי " Ps. xviii. 32.

האל מעוזי חיל ויתר תמים "המאזרני "ויתן "	2 Sam. xxii. 33. Ps. xviii. 33.
	rs. xvIII. 33.
ואת גויתו תקעו וגו	1 Sam. xxxi. 10.
" גלגלתר " "	I Chron. x. 10.
וינטשו בעמק רפאים	2 Sam. v. 8.
ויפשטר ,,	I Chron. xiv. 9.
המלך דוד מפזז ומכרכר	2 Sam. vi. 16.
,, דויד מרקד ומשחק	I Chron. xv. 29.
ואיש כלי משחתו בידו	Ezek. ix. 1.
,, מפצו ,, שממו עליך	,, 2.
שממו עליך	Ezek. xxvii. 35.
ישרקו ,,	,, 36.
רגזה ותרעש הארץ	Ps. lxxvii. 19.
ראתה ותחל	Ps. xcvii. 4.
על גפי מרומי קרת	Prov. ix. 3.
,, ,, אסס ,,	,, 14.
בו לרעהו חסר לב	Prov. xi. 12.
, ה חומא ,	Prov. xiv. 21.
נהם ככפיר זעף מלך	Prov. xix. 12.
,, אימת ,,	Prov. xx. 2.

Perhaps I may also draw attention here to Ben Sira 4, 1. The Hebrew text reads

בני אל תלעג לחיי עני

while the Greek ( $\mathring{a}\pi o\sigma \tau \epsilon \rho \acute{\eta} \sigma \eta \varsigma$ ) evidently had

ב' א' תעשק ל' ע'

A similar variant we have in Prov. xiv. 31 and xvii. 5; the former reading אשק דל חרף עשהו, and the latter ע" חרף עשהו, and the latter ע". The same thing may also be observed in Ben Sira 37, 9, where the Hebrew text has רישך, whilst the marginal gloss offers ראשך. (British Museum Fragments in the Jewish Quarterly Review, xii., p. 9.) Both readings are to be found in Prov. vi. 11 and xxiv. 32, the former running ובא במהלך רישך, the latter giving ובא במהלך רישך

It will be as well to refer here to a curious instance of the absolute inability of Professor Margoliouth to deal with an ancient corrupt text. This occurs in his criticism of the doublet 32, 4 (1), 32, 5. I must reproduce the whole paragraph, which consists of a group of peculiar doublets, and the marginal glosses.

שיר אל על משתה היין: שירח שירח

נוב זיר <sup>5</sup> כומז אודם על ניב זהב משפט שיר על משתה היין:

נהפך ספיר (1) <sup>5</sup> כרביד זהב ובו נפך וספיר כך נאים דברים יפים על משתה היין:

מלא 6 מלואות פז וחותם ברקת קול מזמור על נועם תירוש:

Verses 4 (1) and 5 (1) agree with the Syriac and verses 5 and 6 with the Greek, and are therefore taken by Professor Margoliouth as a proof of the retranslation theory. Of the ranslation of the Greek σύγκριμα μουσικῶν "which savours of the fourth form of a grammar school" (Expository Times, 528). The first point to be considered is that the phrase σύγκριμα μουσικῶν never occurs either in the Classics or in the Septuagint except in this place. The commentators, as can easily be seen, are all groping for the meaning of the phrase. The probability is therefore great that we are dealing here with a barbaric Greek translating literally the Hebrew original, and conveying little or no meaning as a pure Greek phrase.

תורה In verse 17 of the same chapter σύγκριμα is used for משפט (see notes, ad loc.) which is a common synonym for במשפט. The משפט of verse 5 is of course not to be translated "judgment" but has to be taken in the sense of "order," "measure," "rule," "arrangement". What places this

### Margoliouth's 'Original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus. 125

explanation beyond all doubt is the parallel passage 44, 5 (Oxford Fragments).

## קו <sup>5</sup> חוקרי מזמור על חוק

"Who sought out music according to rule."

There is a point of great interest to notice in 32, 5 (1) given above. The verse agrees with the Syriac, but if it be supposed a translation from the Syriac, we should have no explanation for the marginal gloss כהפך ספיר. For while there is no doubt that the נפך וספיר of the text could be suggested by the nouns מבעא ומרגדנא of the Syriac, there is nothing in the latter to suggest the verb of the gloss. This is clearly a case where two MSS., one of which contained the clerical error בהפך, were collated. The scribe conscientiously put the other reading—the corrupt reading—on the margin.

But even granting the possibility of some line having been introduced indirectly into our fragments from the Syriac (certainly not from the Greek) this would only explain some doublets—not all—there being, as we pointed out above, a number of them either entirely omitted by the Syriac or containing additional matter for which the Syriac offers no equivalent. The only way to account for all the doublets is to assume the existence of various families of MSS, some agreeing more with the type of the MSS. on which the Syriac version depended, others again corresponding more with those MSS. after which the Greek translation was executed. Besides these, they contained a whole number of verses and of readings good, bad and indifferent, wholly overlooked or

misunderstood by the versions. It is the divergences between these families of MSS, which now appear in our fragments, in the shape either of marginal glosses, of insertions between the lines, or of doublets. As far as these latter are concerned, they were probably inserted first as glosses on the margin or between the lines, and were afterwards embodied with the text. This hypothesis is supported by the consideration that whilst we have ample evidence that the scribes in their dealing with MSS, were constantly disfiguring them by omissions and additions, or confusion of differing recensions, and incorporations in the body of the MSS. of entirely foreign matter (see Brüll's Jahrbuch, ii., pp. 80-85 and Tshuboth Haggeonim, edit. Harkavy, p. 138), we have not a single case on record dating from those earlier times of a translation prepared after the method suggested by Professor Margoliouth.

To illustrate with some precision the elaborate and complex nature of such a method, I will give here the analysis of Chapter XLVIII. which has no glosses, and the correspondence of which to the versions constantly changes—now evidently approaching the Greek and now the Syriac, and in some cases differing materially from both—and in all cases presenting the fuller and superior text.

#### CHAPTER XLVIII.

1 Agrees with Syriac. 2<sup>a</sup> Differs from both versions which prob. read גיבא עליהם רעב.

26 Agrees with Gk. (הבקיעם Syr. p. r. הבקיעם).
3 ,, (Heb. has no equiv. for Syr.

על מדבחא ועל אנשא רשיעא).

4 Agrees more with Syr.

5 Agrees more with Gk. (Syr. p. r. המקים מתים משאול).

6<sub>a</sub> ,, ,, ; Syr. omits.

6b ,, ,, (Syr.p.r. ממלכותם or מכסאותם for ממטותם).

- 8ª Agrees (more) with Greek (תשלומות). 86 with neither (Heb. תחתיר, Gk. Syr. p. r. תחתיך). 7ª (more) with Gk. (Syr. p. r. בטיני for בניסוי). 7b with Gk.; Syr. omits. with Syr. (מעלה). Qa Qb with neither (ובגדודי). (more) with Gk. IOa Iob with Gk.; Syr. omits. IOd ,, with Syr. (ולהבין). Heb. fragments defective. 12 נסים ואותות Omitted in the Gk. (Syr. probably had נסים ואותות and misread נסיון). 12d Omitted in the Gk. 12e Agrees (more) with Syr. (Gk. prob. reading שר for בשר). ,, with Syr. and Gk. (but both misunderstand דבר). 13ª וברא Omitted in the Syr. (Gk. p. r. נברא for נברא). 14b Agrees with Gk. (Syr. p. r. מתים). ,, (more) with Syr. (ליהודה). 15e ,, with Gk. (עשר יושר, cf. 1 Kings xv. 11). T6a with neither (Heb. הפליאר, Gk. and Syr. p. r. 16b (הכפילו 17 Agrees with Gk. and Syr. 17° Omitted in the Syr. (Gk. prob. read הרים for מים). 17d 18 Agrees with both. ,, with Syr. (ריגדף אל). 18c Omitted in the Syr. (Gk. adds רידיהם after לבם). IQ (Gk. p. r. רחום for עליון). 20a 20b Agrees with Gk. (Syr. has ויפרש חזקיהו). 20<sup>d</sup> ,, (more) with Gk. (Syr. adds הנביא). 21b ,, with neither (Gk. adds מלאכו, Syr.
- 22 Agrees (more) with Syr. which prob. read וילך for אביר for מחל and added אביר after דוד.

ויך בהם מכה רבה).

22e Heb. frag. defective.

23 ,, ,, ,,

24 Agrees more with Gk. (אחרית).

25 ,, with Gk. (Syr. p. r. עד עולם for עד עולם, and נסתרות, for נסינות).

The Jew of the Gaonic period and even later would certainly try to raise the intellectual level of his people by making accessible, through translation, any work which he would consider an essential contribution to his literature. But we never find that he would take the pains to collate the different versions of the same book, give alternative renderings, correct the errors of the one version by the aid of the other, and supply their deficiencies by the same means. This presupposes a degree of critical conscientiousness and fidelity of translation hardly known in the Middle Ages.

(3) A third point of importance presented by the Cambridge Fragments is the following. We find in it a new complete *Parashah*, of which there is not the slightest trace in the versions. This consists of fifteen verses (51, 12° (1)-12° (15)), and is of the type of composition familiar to us from Psalm cxxxvi.:—

O give thanks unto the God of praises, For His mercy endureth for ever.

As I have pointed out in my introduction, there can be no question of its genuineness, since we have there a couplet running thus:—

O give thanks unto Him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests, For His mercy endureth for ever.

After the unworthy part played by the high priests of the house of Zadok during the Hellenistic troubles, it is highly improbable that any pious Jew would feel so enthusiastic about this family that their continuance in the sacred office would form the special theme of his thanksgiving to God. The benediction of the high priest pronounced on the Day of Atonement, dating from a later (post post-Maccabean) period

runs הבוחר בכהנים—thus omitting all reference to a special family in connection with the priesthood.

The whole Parashah, however, is omitted both in the Greek and in the Syriac for the simple reason that the Greek translator—who in this respect, as in so many others, was followed by his Syrian successor—the grandson of Ben Sira lived at a time when the house of Zadok was already superseded by the Maccabean line. He therefore recoiled from giving publicity to a hymn which claimed for the publicity to a hymn which claimed for the exclusive privilege of the (High) priesthood. But how shall we account for the existence of this hymn on the translation hypothesis when not a single trace of the hymn can be found in any of the versions?

I have already transgressed the limits of a notice, and I am therefore loath to encroach further, though so much remains unstated both with regard to doublets and to deviations of the versions from the Hebrew. But I should like to appeal to biblical students, not unfamiliar with postbiblical literature, that they take the trouble to compare the style of Ben Sira with that of the Bible or of any postbiblical poetry, or any translations known to us from postbiblical literature. They will find that, in spite of copious reminiscences from the Canonical Writings, and not uncommon Rabbinical turns, it stands quite apart from the Biblical or Rabbinical schools of composition. Hence it must come from a period to which we have as yet had no access. I may say that many scholars, among them men who have spent all their lives in the study of Hebrew style in all its stages, have, in their letters to me, referred to this conclusion as most strongly impressed upon them by the study of the fragments.

S. SCHECHTER.

### Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte.

Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte. Entwickelungsgeschichte der christlichen Lehrbildungen. Von Dr. A. Dorner. Berlin: Druck und Verlag von Georg Reimer, 1899. Pp. xi + 648. Price M.10.

It is pleasing to find that Prof. Dorner's philosophical labours and interests have not hindered his historic studies. There was no reason why they should: the one set of studies may be freely allowed to enrich the other. Of Church historians of the merely chronicler sort, we have always enough and to spare: of philosophical historians we have always too few. Nor is there any reason why the thoroughness, on which our times insist, need be construed in terms of a specialism that shall be narrow, conceited, and unillumined. The Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte of the author of Das menschliche Handeln and Das menschliche Erkennen is, therefore, a welcome contribution to Historical Theology. But it is welcome on other grounds, seeking, as it does, to understand, as far as possible, in an objective manner, each and every stage in the development of Christian doctrine by means of the conditions peculiar to it. Dr. Dorner properly attaches great importance to the history of Christian doctrine. He has before him the fact that no just view of historic Christianity is open to us, if we confine our interest to Church history, both because the churchly framework does not exhaust the life of Christianity, and because the churchly doings are so far behind the Christian ideal. His endeavour is so to follow up the history of Christian doctrinal developments, as to be able to give such answer as may be thus possible to the fundamental question of theology—an answer in accordance with the essence of Christianity. That essence is here taken to be rightly understood only as the outcome of such complete study of the historic development.

Before proceeding with the five sections of which the book

is composed, the author treats us to an admirable Introduction, in which the conception, task, and method, of the history of dogma are dealt with. In the course of his survey of the history of dogma, in the first part of the Introduction, Dorner refers to the Grundriss of Harnack on the same subject as the most significant work of our time. Dorner's view of the brilliant Berlin professor's work is that his fundamental conception and his final result cannot be held to register an advance. He admits Harnack's enrichment of the literary individual inquiry by his great sagacity and the power with which he enters into the spiritual creations of the great Church Fathers. He grants how replete the work is with churchly historical material, and regards it as a literary historical performance of the first rank. The fundamental apprehension proceeds from the dualistic thought of the distinction drawn in Kantian phenomenalism between theoretic knowledge and practical judgments of value. historic process in early Christian dogma is thenceforward to Harnack one of the Hellenisation of Christianity. This distinction between theoretic knowledge and judgments of value Harnack takes as a standard or measure for the historico-dogmatic process. The worth of this distinction, Dorner thinks, is open to question. For our own part we should go further and say that, for the Ritschlian use of it, the dualism in question is distinctly untenable. Our religious faith may not have its basis given by theoretic reason, but that does not keep its grounds from being shot through with reason from first to last. Our theoretic knowledge is not dualistically opposed to value-judgments, in the way Harnack supposes, but is perfectly compatible with them, and is, on a full view, inclusive of them. Dorner rightly affirms that, at all events, the distinction cannot be made a standard or measure of the historical process. In confining the territory of religion to the limits of value-judgments in the way he does, Dorner contends that Harnack has unnecessarily narrowed the conception of the history of dogma, restricting it to only the culture of churchly dogma. He finely vindicates his own rejection of this restricted view, showing how the impulse to know overleaps it; and how, in the whole religiously determined process of knowledge, such churchly dogma can be but part, if we would reckon up the full wealth of Christian knowledge. Dorner regards it as, methodically, incorrect to judge the historic process after a preconceived modern view of the difference between theoretic and practical knowledge, instead of trying to comprehend every appearance on the historic horizon as it arose out of its own time, and in connection with it. He further deems it an inquiry not to be overlooked, why the Hellenic influence on Christianity is only baneful, and thinks that, while it may appear orthodox to view Christianity only in connection with Judaism, and under those aspects that have escaped Hellenising influence, that does not make this view a true one.

When he comes to develop his own conception of the history of dogma and of its method, Dorner notes how it has always been the tendency of Christianity to display its contents as truth. He conceives the Christian principle as seeking to pierce through and through the world, and in this way works up his conception of Christianity as a totality. Christianity in its totality is for him bearer of a unified world-view, whose contents must be set forth in living form. But of his Introduction it must suffice to say that, richly informed as Harnack's "prolegomena" to his Grundriss may be, Dorner's preliminary section will be found far more solid and satisfying.

The work itself consists of five divisions. The first deals with the period of the apostolic fathers, as a time of immediate representation of the Christian contents without scientific precision. The second section is concerned with the age of the apologists, when Christianity is viewed as the highest knowledge or perfect philosophy. Now is witnessed the shaping out of Christian doctrine into a connected world-view. This section is especially interesting because of what Dorner has to say of Origen, when treating of the Alexandrians and their endeavours to exhibit Christian faith and knowledge in clearer relation, and set forth Christianity as the highest wisdom. Origen's theory of knowledge receives

proper attention from Dorner, who notes its more than theoretic character; in fact, its mystical aspect, inclusive as that was of an ethical relation. This was so in virtue of Origen's allownous bela—that divine sense denoting the consciousness of man in its higher cognitive activity-which, says Dorner, means no corruption or perversion of Christianity, but through which, on the other hand, Christianity proves itself the freest of religions in that its contents can be made the subject of the freest knowledge. We cannot here follow Dorner's treatment in detail of Origen and his relations to the Gnostics, to cosmological and practical problems, but must be content to express our satisfaction that he has sought to do this most comprehensive of ancient Christian thinkers justice, and to exhibit his services in bringing out the absolutely rational character and ethical modes of Christianity.

The third division relates to the period of development of Christological-Trinitarian dogma, when Christianity appears under its Greek modification. With the development of Christian doctrine there is depicted the rise of churchly authority, with the relations between the two. There is nothing Hellenic, says Dorner, in the fact that a deeper progress was prevented in this period by the churchly rigidity in the way of reducing to dogma, since the same thing has happened at other times and under other influences. the development of Trinitarian dogma, Monarchianism and Athanasianism have no sooner been dealt with than the Origenists are taken up, after which, by much careful discussion, we are brought up to the days of John of Damas-The prominent place of Christology is first dealt with under this section, and the difficulties of the problem so presented are clearly set forth as they appear to our The subject was approached, as modern consciousness. Dorner shows, from the Divine side, and the ethical and metaphysical interests were, in their harmony or agreement, not realised.

We are thus brought up to the fourth division of the work, wherein are set forth the author's views of the Roman modifying effects on Christianity in the Western Church up to the Reformation. Many portions of this section of the work are of the deepest interest to historical and philosophical students, as, for example, the fine comparisons between Augustine and Origen, and between Aquinas and Duns Scotus, and the estimates of Mysticism and Reform before the Reformation. These portions are all written with the care and fulness of learning and reference so characteristic of German authors. The work is greatly enhanced in value by the author's exceptional ethical knowledge and insighta feature the more to be prized from its rarity in works of historic character. In Dorner's view the conception of faith in the Middle Ages is a wholly practical one, to which the theoretic aspect is only a means. The end is salvation in the love of God. Dorner also brings out well how the mediæval conception of the kingdom of God came shortproved too narrow. But though narrow, the energy of its working was intense, and showed itself in practical service of the Church, in religious mysticism, and in scholastic thought. The Church would not freely allow the independence of personality, nor individual interests as opposed to churchly uniformity; the Protestant movement became an historic necessity, if the whole world of natural and spiritual culture was to be rightly taken up into the Christian view of the world.

The fifth and last division of the volume brings us from Reformational times up to the present, the breadth of the author's view being observable in the specific treatment he measures out to the Post-Reformational developments of the Reformed, the Roman, and the Greek Churches, no less than to the Lutheran. The new movement of this time in the development of Christian doctrine is directed towards personality, and the perfecting of the same. If, under the Greek and the Roman churchly influences, doctrine has hitherto figured as objective truth, we now come upon Protestantism in a form or aspect whose fundamental principle is personal experience, whose sustaining power lies in powerful personalities, and which inclines to individual types. With neither

the Greek nor the Roman Church do we associate the name of a single man in the same sense as we do in the case of the Lutheran; and although the denominational manifoldness of the Reformed Church does not make for a personal distinctiveness, yet here we have mainly the type of Calvin. When discussing the development of doctrine in the Reformed Church, Dorner finds the theological movements of the present in England, Scotland, and Northern America very interesting. Among Scottish philosophers and theologians mentioned are the Cairds, in connection with Hegelian idealism; Profs. Flint, Calderwood and Candlish, in relation to theistic tendency; Prof. Robertson Smith, in connection with historic criticism; Profs. Dods and Bruce, in relation to historic revelation; and Dr. James Lindsay, of Kilmarnock, who is referred to as having emphasised the personal and individual character of the Reformation, and as having pleaded for the progress of theological knowledge in relation to the newer science of the time.

Some closing results of his wide survey of the history of Christian dogma are then presented by our author. He first notes the strong impulse towards knowledge displayed by Christianity. No sooner has Christianity passed beyond the first stage of immediate representation than there arises the need to build up Christian dogma. The highest point of these earliest endeavours after a real knowledge is that reached by Origen. But this consisted less of an upbuilding of individual dogmas than a representing of the totality of the Christian world view. But the process immediately thereafter assumes a churchly form, and various points are individually fixed after this churchly fashion. When these individual positions have been so determined, there ensues the attempt to comprehend them as a whole, and to work them into a dogmatic system. This attempt was made by the Damascan in the East; it was also made in the West. These main dogmas had been no sooner fixed in the West under Roman influence, than we find the great summations of Christian dogma so characteristic of the Middle Ages. Protestantism found drawing out its dogmatic positions; and a scholastic dogmatism likewise brings forth its system. We have, in the first development of Protestantism in recent times, an attempt on its part to comprehend Christianity and form a Christian view of the world independently of dogma. With more perfect means at its command, Protestantism has approximated to the first form of dogma culture, and has sought to defend Christianity, not as churchly dogma, but as a world-view, as true knowledge or religious conviction. Thus it is evident there have been in Christianity both a free impulse to knowledge, and an impulse to knowledge after a churchly sort, but in either an endeavour after a systematic rounding off. Dorner, after further remarks, proceeds to discuss whether any partial Church is entitled to claim universal validity for its own dogmatic determinations—whether, in fact, any such Church may claim its own conceptions of Christianity as the sole and exclusively Christian. he returns an answer in the negative, with reasons for the same. He then inquires whether we can perceive an advance in the historical standpoint of Christianity, in respect of the fact that the Christian principle has, in dogma, found richer and more adequate expression. He shows at length the grounds on which we can postulate such a progress, in the long course of historical development. Lastly, he comes to the very interesting inquiry, whether the churchly determination of knowledge is for Christianity an immediate necessity. The present condition of Christian dogma shows, he says, that since there is no universal Church there can be no form of dogma which can have binding force as of universal validity. In the same Church the most diverse theological schools may be found: into all Protestant denominations there enters a rich manifoldness of doctrinal conception. distinguish the Christian principle from its concrete appearances in determinate forms of doctrine, and must hold as justified the manifold attempts to bring this Christian principle to always more adequate expression, and resolve its contents into a dogmatic whole.

History, then, teaches us, concludes Dorner, that if it did happen to be for a long time necessary that Christian dogma take a churchly form, this form must ultimately meet shipwreck by the fact of its trying to unite two things so disparate as free knowledge and churchly positing of doctrine. History teaches us, he maintains, that in Christianity the thought has never quite disappeared, that it is the rational religion the religion that corresponds to the idea of religion. more deeply its essence is known, the more does it lead back to a single unified principle. Through such unified fundamental knowledge churchly dogmas become superfluous, and Christianity will be for all the universal religion, when the official Churches have cast off their aristocratic character, and become Churches of the people. To distinguish the universally valid from what is true for the individual, to understand the variant forms of the Christian principle in objective manner, and to be just to the diversities in the historical development as to the richly constituted present—these make the task of an historic knowledge of Christianity.

The work will be found by theological and historical students replete with interest, and pervaded by calm and effective energy—the energy of the true thinker, and the deep, patient scholar.

JAMES LINDSAY.

# A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

By W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., Professor in Aberdeen University; Hon. Fellow of Exeter and Lincoln Colleges, Oxford. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row, 1899. 8vo, pp. xi. + 478. Price 12s. 6d.

THE publication of Professor Ramsay's Commentary on Galatians is an event of great interest for all who are occupied with the problems of New Testament criticism. In a certain sense, it is the natural result of his previous works. The "Galatian question" is prominently to the front both in The Church in the Roman Empire and in St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen. In both books the South Galatian theory is defended with the vigour of intense conviction. We have therefore been justified in looking for an expression of Professor Ramsay's views on the epistle addressed to this much debated region.

Most readers will probably have at least one sentiment of curiosity in common. They will be eager to compare Professor Ramsay's commentary with that of Bishop Lightfoot. To a certain extent the two cover the same ground: but the distribution of the matter is different. Professor Ramsay's interest is mainly historical; he attempts "to show how much light the epistle to the Galatians throws on contemporary history in the widest sense—the history of religion, society, thought, manners, education-in the eastern provinces of the Empire". For undertaking this attempt, no living scholar is better fitted than Professor Ramsay. His special interest in Asia Minor, his researches in that region, his proved capacity as scholar, historian and archæologist, his enthusiastic interest in the personality of St. Paul, combine to give him a quite unique equipment for his task. The result is in accordance with our expectations; Professor Ramsay's book

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will undoubtedly take a place in the front rank of English commentaries.

The work is divided into two almost equal parts. There is a Historical Introduction, followed by a Historical Commentary. It is probably in the former of these divisions that the permanent value of the book chiefly lies. Professor Ramsay is here on the ground he has so thoroughly made his own; and we, instead of trying to criticise feel more inclined to sit as learners at a master's feet. The first ten sections deal with the history of Galatia proper, i.e., North Galatia—first, during the pre-Galatic period (circa B.C. 900-B.C. 278), and then till the formation of the Province of Galatia in B.C. 25. Sections 4 and 5, on the pre-Gaulish inhabitants, and the religion of Asia Minor, are especially interesting in their bearing on the epistle. The historical survey has, however, a wider interest than this. It is a most striking fragment of the history of Rome. Professor Ramsay brings out with great clearness the characteristics of Roman policy; the toleration for local usage; the uniform effort to preserve a balance of power between rival states; the slow but persistent advance of frontier from Asia to Galatia, from Galatia to Cappadocia. Sections 11-23 deal with the after history of the Province of Galatia. Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe are described in detail.

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With regard to this Historical Introduction, there can hardly be a division of opinion. Professor Ramsay has collected an extraordinary amount of matter; it is gathered from most recondite authorities in ancient and modern literature; in many instances the details are complicated and very obscure. Yet the whole of this difficult material has been shaped into a clear and continuous narrative. For this fact alone—that he has collected so much widely scattered matter into such readable form—Professor Ramsay deserves abundant gratitude.

In approaching the Historical Commentary we naturally adopt a more critical attitude. As the archæologist and historian of Asia Minor, Professor Ramsay holds amongst us a position of almost solitary eminence; as a commentator

on this epistle he is but one in a line of distinguished writers. We are therefore better able to submit his conclusions to a critical examination.

One statement we feel compelled to make by way of preface. It is quite evident that Professor Ramsay's bête noire is the North Galatian theory. In other matters he can tolerate difference of opinion; but when that difference can be traced to a fondness for the North Galatian theory, he seems divided between surprise and wrath at the obstinacy that so wilfully declines to see established facts (cf. pp. 6, 126, 245, 319, 323). Accordingly we make haste to say that for ourselves we heartily agree with Professor Ramsay's view as to the locality of the Galatian Churches. Therefore, if in other points we err in differing from him, we feel that the error will be comparatively venial: for it cannot be traced to a depraved liking for the North Galatian theory.

It will only be possible here to indicate briefly Professor Ramsay's views on the more important subjects of interest. He holds that the epistle was written from Antioch just before the third Missionary journey (p. 242). He lays stress on i. 2, οί σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοί and considers that these words indicate "a considerable body of Christians". "Only two congregations could add weight to this particular letter — Jerusalem and Antioch. The former is, for many reasons, out of the question; but Antioch is, from every point of view, specially suitable and impressive." A further reason is, that Antioch was probably the place where "Paul first received the news about the Galatian defection." Again, "Antioch had taken a very prominent and honourable part in the struggle for freedom; yet on the ordinary theory of origin, it is not alluded to in this letter, except to point out that every Jew in Antioch betrayed on one occasion the cause of freedom. . . . But when all Antiochian Christians are associated with the Apostle as issuing this authoritative letter, we feel that the Church of Antioch is placed in the honourable position which she had earned" (p. 244).

From this conclusion we venture—with a renewed disavowal of North Galatian influences—to differ. Of course,

one's view of oi σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες ἀδελφοὶ is largely a matter of impression. But we feel strongly that Lightfoot's view that "the small band of his fellow-travellers is meant" is more suitable both to the expression and to its context. So far from indicating by these words the support of a large and influential Church "the Apostle in fact dismisses the mention of his companions as rapidly as possible in one general expression. . . Paul's authority has been challenged, and Paul alone answers the challenge."

Lightfoot does not hold that his own arguments for placing Galatians between 2 Corinthians and Romans "amount to a demonstration". But we still agree with him that they "will hold their ground against those which are alleged in favour of the earlier date".

The explanation of οὕτω ταχέως μετατίθεσθε, i. 6, agrees, of course, with the theory that Antioch is the place of writing. In answer to the question: "How then was Paul ignorant of the steps in the Galatian defection?" Professor Ramsay says: "The rapid and unforeseeable changes of his life after his second Galatian visit made it impossible for exchange of letters and messages to take place. Even after he went to Corinth he was still looking for the expected opening in Macedonia (which he understood to be his appointed field) until the new message was given him" (Acts xviii. 9) (p. 254). The view that the Galatian defection was due to "fickleness" is stigmatised as "characteristic of the unscientific nature of the North Galatian Theory" (p. 255).

In the note on i. 6, 7, els ἕτερον εὐαγγέλιον, δ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο, el μὴ κ.τ.λ., stress is laid on the distinction between ἕτερος and ἄλλος. Here again, the view advocated is opposed to that of Lightfoot. The Bishop's view is, that "ἔτερον implies a difference of kind, which is not involved in ἄλλο". Professor Ramsay holds that "the truth is precisely the opposite": that, when ἕτερος and ἄλλος are pointedly contrasted "ἔτερος indicates specific difference, ἄλλος generic difference" (p. 262). This view is supported by quotations from the *Iliad*, Thucydides, Plato, and Aristotle. A final decision on this question is a matter for experts. For our-

selves, after a careful comparison of the two views, we feel that every word of Lightfoot's note will stand. We doubt whether Professor Ramsay's instances prove that ἄλλος when contrasted with ἔτερος implies generic difference—whether simple numerical "otherness" would not give the true meaning. In any case we strongly disagree with the dictum that "Lightfoot's usually accurate and thorough sense for Greek language was here misled by a theological theory" (p. 261).

Readers of St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen will naturally look for a re-statement of the view there advocated, that the visit to Jerusalem in Galatians ii. I-Io is to be identified with that of Acts xi., xii. Professor Ramsay prefers however to keep a judicious silence. This is in deference to a theory suggested to him by Mr. Vernon Bartlet that "Paul and Barnabas may have been ordered by revelation to go up to Jerusalem at some point such as Acts xi. 26 or elsewhere and that Luke left this visit unmentioned (as he did the Arabian visit), because he considered it to lie outside of the thread of his historical purpose". "This," he says, "is a fair theory, which at present I dare neither reject nor accept; and therefore in the ensuing discussion there lurks no identification with any visit described by Luke" (p. 286).

In commenting on iii. I 'Ω ἀνόητοι Γαλάται, Professor Ramsay again carries the war into the North Galatian ranks. 'Ανόητοι has generally been understood to refer to fickleness and levity: "the very versatility of their intellect was their snare". On the South Galatian theory the words are open to a different interpretation, and we think Professor Ramsay catches the true sense of the passage in making the words a reproach to them for sinking back to the level of their old national religion. He points to the state of society in South Galatia at the time. "On the one hand was the native and national spirit, allied with the power of the priesthood and the great temples—the spirit of Orientalism, of stagnation, of contented and happy ignorance, of deep-rooted superstition. On the other side was the desire for education, the perception

that Greece and Rome stood on a higher intellectual platform than the native religion and customs, the revolt from the ignorant and enslaving native superstition." Christianity was on the side of this higher tendency, and Paul tells them that, in thinking they can attain to a higher form of Christianity by submitting to circumcision they are simply sinking to a lower state. It is for this that he calls  $\partial v \circ \eta \tau o \iota$ , "irrational". It is the "foolishness" that thinks to attain to a higher spiritual level by physical means (p. 323).

The words of ii. 19 έγω γαρ δια νόμου νόμω απέθανον lead to an interesting description of Paul's conversion. He was travelling to Damascus with "an intense concentration of purpose, which gave the mind supreme sovereignty over the body. This effect was accentuated by the spare diet, inevitable in Eastern travel. . . . Few, if any, persons can have much experience of travel under such circumstances, with the sun watching them day after day in pitiless unvarying calmness from its rising to its setting, without having their nature deeply affected, and even passing permanently into a new life and temper. But in a nature which was already so sensitive to the Divine world around it as Paul's, all the conditions were fulfilled which raised him above the ordinary limitations of humanity. It was a supreme crisis in his life, like that in the hall of the Proconsul at Paphos, like that when he perceived the 'faith of being saved' which looked through the eyes of the lame man at Lystra. In the bright light that shone about him, he saw and heard what none of his travelling companions could see or hear. He saw as a living Divine reality Him whom he had believed to be a dead Impostor. Paul's whole theory of life had been founded on the belief that Jesus was dead; but when he recognised that Jesus was living, the theory crumbled into dust" (p. 333). On a first reading this seemed very like an account of hallucination. But the last sentence at any rate is opposed to this view. We take it that Professor Ramsay refers to an objective reality as much as Paul did when he said (I Cor. ix. I) οὐχὶ Ἰησοῦν τον Κύριον ήμων έωρακα;

Two more points of particular interest remain.  $\Delta \iota \alpha \theta \dot{\eta} \kappa \eta$  in

iii. 15, is taken to mean a Will or Testament. Professor Ramsay admits that the general biblical meaning is "Covenant"; but here "the word is used in allusion to everyday life among ordinary men"; κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω means that Paul is "employing the word in the sense in which it was commonly used as part of the ordinary life of the cities of the East" Irrevocability was a characteristic feature of Greek Law, and Galatian Procedure was evidently similar. A Galatian will was irrevocable and unalterable. On this view it would seem that a will, as understood in South Galatian cities, would be a peculiarly suitable illustration for Paul's point here. It is essential for the illustration to remember that Professor Ramsay takes διαθήκη as a Greek and not a Roman will. The whole view with its finely drawn distinction is interesting, but we cannot help wondering whether it is not over-subtle. Is it not more probable that  $\delta \iota a\theta \eta \kappa \eta$  is used here in its general biblical sense as in Romans ix. 4; xi. 27, and does not κατὰ ἄνθρωπον λέγω simply refer to the use of a human analogy for a Divine act?

Professor Ramsay thinks that the equality of sexes and nationalities in Christ referred to in iii. 28 must be taken (when compared with Paul's writings as a whole) to refer to the *end* and not to the *beginning* of the Christian life.

In commenting on  $\delta i$   $\delta \sigma \theta \acute{e} \nu \epsilon i a \nu \tau \eta s$   $\sigma a \rho \kappa \grave{o} s$  (iv. 13) there is a full and clear statement of the view that what is referred to is a severe attack of malarial fever, contracted in Pamphylia, and that the first visit to the Galatian churches is therefore that of Acts xiii., xiv. He agrees with Lightfoot in taking  $\tau \grave{o} \pi \rho \acute{o} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$  as indicating "the former of two occasions". If the epistle be dated from Antioch before the third missionary journey, this view is quite possible. Those who adopt the South Galatian theory, but agree with Lightfoot's dating of the epistle, are almost compelled to take  $\tau \grave{o} \pi \rho \acute{o} \tau \epsilon \rho o \nu$  as "on a former occasion". This is quite a possible translation and receives the support of Blass.

We cannot close this short review without a sincere tribute to the worth of Professor Ramsay's work. His scholarship, his fine historical sense and his intense enthusiasm for his subject, have helped to set before us the life and writings of Paul as a living reality. He is at times somewhat severe on "the commentator" who "sits in a study and comments on the text ". We venture, however, to think that in this respect he too has the defects of his qualities; his tendency is to go rather to the other extreme—to be over-subtle—to find minute and delicate distinctions of wording—carefully adapted to the different localities of his hearers—in places where Paul is probably using words in their ordinary and generally accepted sense. In spite of this, Professor Ramsay's commentary is a very real gain to Biblical Scholarship. It constitutes also the fullest and most recent defence of the South Galatian theory.

DAWSON WALKER.

# The Fundamental Ideas of Christianity.

- (Being the Gifford Lectures on Natural Theology delivered to the University of Glasgow in Sessions 1892-3 and 1895-6.)
- By John Caird, D.D., LL.D., Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow. With a Memoir by Edward Caird, D.C.L., LL.D., Master of Balliol. In two volumes. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. cxli. + 232, 297. Price 12s. net.

A BOOK which unites these distinguished brothers and places them once more side by side, though death rolls between, must be a welcome book to all who have felt their influence. What student of philosophy is there that has not fallen under their influence? Nay, whether students of philosophy or not, few men of our generation have escaped their influence. It has spread far and wide, has permeated art, science, literature and theology. Owing very much to them idealism has become the dominant philosophy in England, Scotland and America. When they began their work it needed courage for a man to profess to be an idealist, now it takes some courage to profess anything else. Idealism has captured most of the philosophic chairs in our Scottish Universities, and its familiar phraseology is heard in our sermons. It is therefore a great boon to have a book in which the idealistic philosophy is set forth in its relation to the fundamental ideas of Christianity. It is also a boon to have the memoir of Principal Caird by his distinguished brother.

It is a graceful and beautiful memoir. The portrait opposite the title page enables us to see the outward form of the Principal in his habit as he lived; the memoir enables us to enter into his inner life—to see him in the discharge of public duty, girding himself manfully to his appointed task, and always equal to the duty laid on him, as minister, as professor, and as principal. Honours came to him, goodwill,

esteem, troops of friends and universal respect, and none of them were sought by him. We are permitted to see him in his moral and intellectual striving after truth, striving to hold fast to what he felt to be good in the historic faith, and at the same time ever striving to make his philosophy and his theology blend into unity. It is a complete and a beautiful life, and the completeness and beauty of it shine forth in the memoir. We quote the concluding paragraph of the memoir: "Christianity and Idealism were the two poles of my brother's thinking, and the latter seemed to him the necessary means for interpreting the former. He had, therefore, the strongest repugnance for all theories that divorced faith and reason equally for those which empty reason of its religious content, and for those that deny reason in the supposed interest of orthodox theology. In later years he thought much on the question of immortality, as will be seen in the following lectures; but the only evidence that seemed to him of any real value was that derived from the spiritual view of the nature of reality, and from the goodness that must belong to a God who is a Spirit. He is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to Him."

The very title of the book is significant. It is the fundamental ideas of Christianity, and at the same time it is the Gifford Lectures on Natural Theology. An exposition of the fundamental ideas of Christianity is for him the best statement he can give of natural theology. On this identification much might be said were there time. To say these things would lead us too far afield, might raise the ghosts of forgotten controversies, and might disturb Lord Gifford himself. for Lord Gifford had a very different view of natural theology, as his will testifies. The fundamental ideas treated in these lectures are The Christian Idea of God. The Relation of God to the World, The Origin and Nature of Evil, The Incarnation, The Atonement, the Kingdom of the Spirit, and The Future Life. There are two lectures in addition, one on Natural and Revealed Religion, and one on Faith and Reason, with another on The Possibility of Moral Restoration.

In all these lectures he strives with all his strength to

effect a reconciliation between idealism and Christianity. It is wonderful how much of idealism he finds in Christianity, and how much of Christianity in idealism. As we read the fluent pages, and yield ourselves to the magic of the style, we feel that he has given us a wonderful statement. Christianity seems to be conserved, and idealism has its way. Yet as we read and ponder, and come back to read again we begin to doubt, and the doubt gathers strength, almost against our wish, till we are forced to consider the matter from the beginning. We conclude that, if some form of idealism is true and adequate, this form of it at least is inadequate. This form of idealism is individualism. We wish we had space to argue the question, but we can only state it. Our suspicion was aroused by such passages as the following: "The true and only sufficient explanation (of the existence of the world) can only be that there is in the very nature of God a reason why He should reveal Himself in, and communicate Himself to, a world of finite existences, or fulfil and realise Himself in the being and life of nature and man". Again, "When in the language of Christian thought, we say that all things exist 'for the glory of God,' that of Him and through Him and to Him are all things," that "the invisible things of Him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and Godhead," that finite spirits in their ideal perfection "are chosen in Him before the foundation of the world" —what such expressions imply is not merely that all things owe their existence to God's creative will and power, or even that the Divine thought is the constitutive principle of all finite things and beings; but further, that God fulfils Himself. realises His own nature in the existence of the world, and above all in the spiritual nature and life and destiny of man; that, with reverence be it said, the very being and blessedness of God are implicated in the existence, the perfection, the salvation of finite souls. Passages of this tendency make us feel that the work must be done over again, in such a way as to lose nothing of the gain won by idealism, and as to recognise the Christian belief that God does not need to realise Himself. If the world is cast into the life of God, if the world is regarded as the other of God, one may strive as he may but he cannot avoid the path which leads swiftly to pantheism. We think that the Principal has not succeeded in avoiding that tendency. In truth it seems the inevitable conclusion of idealism as it has been expounded in recent systems. For idealism starts from the self, and strives to interpret the experience of the self. Our thought constitutes the world we know and live in. It exists for us in thinkable relations, and it is easy to prove this, as is done in the book before us, that "this constant amidst the variable, not given by them but above them, is something which sense does not and cannot provide—is, and can only be, the self-conscious. spiritual self, the unifying, constitutive power of thought". From the self-conscious spiritual self, idealism swiftly proceeds on its way to the conclusion that as for the world in which this self-conscious self lives and moves the self is necessary, so for the universe of things and persons an absolute selfconsciousness, a constitutive power of thought is necessary. As the objective world of the self is in relation to the self, so the universe is the objective of the absolute self. This is what I call idealistic individualism. What of the other selves in the universe? No doubt the Principal dwells with great clearness and power on the part which society plays in the making of the individual. What he proves is that without society the individual could not realise himself. But how on the ideal principle does he pass from the individual to society? Society on his view is only the means for the realisation of the individual. At least that is all that he makes good. Our contention is that the relation of God to the world cannot be construed according to the analogy of the relation of the self-conscious self to the objects of his experience. But this is the very essence of all the forms of idealism in vogue at present. Idealism must widen its fundamental principle: must not start from the self-conscious spirit in its selfness alone, and construct a world after that fashion; it must seek and find a principle which recognises a larger unity of many selves in spiritual relation to one another, and

to a common world of objects. To the idealism of the volume before us every self seems foreign to every other self, and finds no place in relation to that self save as a means to an end. If we can so widen the basis of idealism, and it seems to me that it can be so widened, we shall no longer be constrained to think of the relation of God to the world as that of an absolute self-consciousness to the object of its experience, nor of thought to the world which it constitutes, but rather after the pattern of a kingdom of conscious selves towards the objects of their common conscious experience. In other words, God will become to us not self-consciousness alone, nor thought alone, nor personality alone, but a social Being, in Whom are infinite differences abiding in unity, in the fulness of Whose life there is no becoming. The relation of the Godhead to the world will thus be rescued from mere individualistic idealism, and can be set forth in a way which will not cast the world into the life of God, and will not make it a means by which God is to realise Himself.

JAMES IVERACH.

### The Christian Salvation.

Lectures on the Work of Christ, its Appropriation and its Issues. By the late James S. Candlish, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. ix. + 263. Price 7s. 6d.

FEW public men have belonged less than the late Professor Candlish to those who strive and cry and cause their voice to be heard in the streets; yet few have secured a place more intimate and enduring in the affection and esteem of their generation; and this posthumous volume, which appears under the competent editorship of Professor Denney, will be welcomed by a wide circle who have been wont to look to the author as one of the instructors of the Church universal. It consists of a selection from his class lectures; and, in making the selection, regard has been had to the subjects already treated by Dr. Candlish in his published works. On only one of these-namely, the Sacraments-is there duplication, the reason alleged for departing from the rule in this case being that the subject is of special interest at the present time. One could wish to have got, instead, the lectures on the Person of Christ, because, in that case, we should have had in print a fairly complete course of theology from the late professor's pen. The present volume deals with the Work of Christ, the New Life, and Eschatology, besides the Sacraments: and former volumes have treated the Doctrine of God, the Work of the Holy Spirit, and the Doctrine of Sin, besides the Sacraments. Dr. Candlish's works have appeared in a characteristically modest shape, four having formed volumes in a cheap series of manuals for Bible classes; but it has not, on this account, escaped the notice of the discerning that they are lucid and solid expositions of theology. Of course there is, besides, his great work on the Kingdom of God.

The present volume exhibits all the author's well-known characteristics. It reveals profound and select learning, of

which, however, there is no display. To views different from his own the author is absolutely fair; and the references to literature are generally brought down to a very recent date. Dr. Candlish was never, however, a mere registrar of the opinions of others, but had always a standard of his own with which to test speculations; and in this volume there will be recognised the work of an independent thinker, who not only records but judges the views which come under his notice. It is common at present to speak of every tendency which shows itself in the field of theology or in the practice of the Church-if only it is able to attract a certain number of adherents—as a natural development of Christianity entitled to recognition. For example, the ritualistic and sacerdotal movement, so popular in many quarters, is referred to by writers of easy tolerance as representing one of the two great forms in which religion has always embodied itself; and it is taken for granted that it would be absurd to challenge its Christian character. But this is not Dr. Candlish's view. He would not say that the ritualistic and sacerdotal tendency was one equally legitimate with the prophetic and apostolic; but, on the contrary, that it was the tendency which not only the prophets and the apostles but our Lord Himself had constantly to antagonise.

His own position is defined in the following sentences: "The truth as it is in Jesus has always been opposed by two opposite kinds of error, which have assumed diverse names and aspects at different times, but against which the Church has always to be upon her guard. In the days of our Lord's earthly ministry there were the Pharisees on the one hand and the Sadducees on the other; in our day the Pharisees are represented by the Romanists and the Romanising parties in Protestant Churches, the Sadducees by the Rationalists and the Rationalising schools; while equally distinct from both is the scriptural and evangelical faith." His system is strongly biblical; and on every important topic the entire biblical testimony is adduced in brief terms and in historical order. He not only, however, indicates the passages which support his own view, but with perfect candour mentions

those which may seem to be against it, and frequently abandons texts which have been traditionally used in support of dogmas, if a fair construction of them, in the light of modern criticism, does not justify the application. He is, in fact, acquainted with every important text in the context to which it belongs; and many of these bits of exegesis are so choice that one regrets the absence of an index to the texts quoted.

While all is so good, the discussion on the Atonement, which receives the place of honour in the book, is specially noteworthy. It was the last work for his class done by Dr. Candlish; it is up to date, and exceedingly fresh and stimulating. The author has not, indeed, constructed an elaborate doctrine of his own, but he has reviewed the entire history of the doctrine and indicated the different points, contributed from different quarters, out of which a systematic doctrine might be constructed. He would give chief prominence to the influence of the atonement on God, but would also lay great stress on union with Christ as the condition under which the benefits of the transaction come to believers.

This is not a book of theological novelties; indeed, it contains perhaps too little of that zigzag light which excites and commands attention; but it closes with a speculation which has a pathos of its own in a posthumous work. dealing with the employments of the redeemed in the other life, the author seeks to establish a reference of the work of Christ to regions lying far beyond the limits of our globe. There may, he thinks, always be worlds in process of being created, or of reaching the stage of development at which intelligent beings are created to inhabit them. To these new subjects of the Eternal King a period of probation may be appointed as it was to our first parents; and the means by which they are carried successfully over this stage of existence into a state of perfection may be the preaching of the love of God by beings who appear in these distant places of creation not only as heralds but as specimens of redeeming love.

JAMES STALKER.

# Glauben und Wissen; Ausgewählte Vorträge und Aufsätze.

Von Richard Adalbert Lipsius. Mit einem Bildniss des Verfassers. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. Price 6s.

This volume is a worthy memorial of a noble personality. Lipsius was in many respects a man by himself. Originality, freshness, strength, independence mark all his work. He was eclectic in the best sense. He was also master of a lucid, strenuous style. His books are a pleasure to read. Not the least remarkable feature in his life was the combination of the freest confessional position with much evangelical faith and fervour. The last feature along with the others is exemplified in this memorial volume. The combination may seem strange to British readers. Still we rejoice in the fact. The lectures and essays composing the volume are as true a picture of the intellectual and spiritual Lipsius as the portrait prefixed to the volume is of the physical. nine longer essays-Faith and Knowledge, The Ultimate Grounds of Religious Certainty, The Idea of God, The Divine Government of the World, The Importance of the Historic in Christianity, The Ritschlian Theology, Our Common Ground in the Conflict with Rome, In what Form should we Carry the Gospel to Civilised Heathen Nations? The Position of Theology in the entire Organism of the Sciences—are masterly reviews of their subjects. They are interesting also for their fine blending of philosophy and religion, and the picture they give of the movements of thought in religious Germany. The essay on the Ritschlian Theology is characteristically complete and fair. Lipsius was no Ritschlian. Yet, as he himself confesses, he approached that position in some important respects, not least in the fact that he everywhere makes personal experience the ground of all religion. The business of theology is to give the rationale of that experience. The volume invites more than one reading.

J. S. BANKS.

# The Theology of Modern Literature.

By Rev. S. Law Wilson, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xx + 446. Price 7s. 6d.

## Historical Geography of the Holy Land.

(Bible Class Primers. Edited by Principal Salmond.) By Rev. S. R. Macphail, M.A. With 42 illustrations, etc. Pp. vi. + 188. Price 6d.

THE handsome and attractive-looking volume on The Theology of Modern Literature deals clearly and vigorously with a subject of much interest and importance, and of considerable complexity. In a modest preface, Dr. Wilson explains his object and method. His aim is to select representative writers of the Victorian era, essavists and thinkers like Emerson and Carlyle, poets like Browning, and novelists from George Eliot to Meredith, and to compare their theological teaching and tendencies, and the presuppositions on which their thinking rests, with the theology of Church and Creed. The term theology is used by the author in relation to modern literature in a broad and elastic sense, and the test or standard uniformly applied throughout the pages of this volume is that of ordinary evangelical orthodoxy. It may be said at once that little or no fault can be found with the spirit of Dr. Wilson's criticism, and both in his introduction and the nine chapters which follow, the author gives evidence of wide reading, manly appreciation and unfailing candour.

In the introduction, which extends to no fewer than ninetythree pages, the author gives us a general survey of the main features of present day imaginative literature and estimates its ethical and religious bearings. The field is almost too wide and complex to bring into one view, for there is truth in the saying quoted later from one of Meredith's characters: "our flying minds cannot contain a protracted description". The chief unsatisfactory and objectionable features in modern literature and its main lines of opposition to sound thinking and Christian theology are these: the prevailing fashion, as in Mr. Hardy's novels, of impugning the moral order of the universe; various forms of unbelief and contemptuous rejection of Revelation, seen either in pronounced scepticism or in the agnostic spirit persistently voiced by A. H. Clough; again, and worse, there is the tide of depraying Realism which has set in among us from the continental writers, headed by Zola; another feature of contemporary authorship is its attenuated conception of sin, and the consequent tendency to make romantic pictures of vice and moral evil; and, lastly, the irreverent freedom and injurious influence of the 'religious novel,' and the vogue given to it by writers like Marie Corelli and Mrs. Humphry Ward. Dr. Wilson utters a strenuous counter-blast to all this, declines to be influenced or brow-beaten by these phases and assaults of theological dilettantism, and concludes that what is wanted is "another Schleiermacher in these days to draw up for theology a new Declaration of Independence".

In the introduction, and later, there are passages in which Dr. Wilson allows his style to lapse. He writes (p. 67): "Talk of Milton and Marlowe's conception of Satan after this-they are not in it with that of Marie Corelli!"; and again (p. 92): "The passing opinions of a few oscillating litterateurs, with the dead leaves of which every autumn is strewn," etc. These sentences are not models of taste or metaphorical clearness. The spelling of 'Mansell' (p. 18) and of 'Tycho Bragh' (p. 45), is a needless concession to 'the Agnostic attitude'! In his first two chapters on Emerson and Carlyle, our author shows warm appreciation of the personality and character of these great writers, and points out clearly their well-known attitude to the miraculous and supernatural in history and Christianity. It is allowed that the one thing that survived the handling of Emerson's destructive criticism was his own beautiful and noble character, and that Carlyle, notwithstanding his large denials, always retained belief in a personal God, as a foremost article in his creed. In the chapter next devoted to Robert Browning, our author characterises his message as a purely modern one. but probably his description of Browning as "the one great rhythmic spokesman of the age we live in," would apply with equal truth to Tennyson. In the same mood of appreciation Browning is held to have solved the contradiction between the poet and the man of science, and his works are recommended as the best tonic and means of deliverance to any tormented and imprisoned by scepticism. Where the poet is considered to come short is in his slight and unsatisfactory treatment of the problem of evil ("the evil is null, is nought," etc.); and, again, in his views of the Incarnation and Atonement and in his attitude to the written Word or Bible, there is detected "a strong tincture of Rationalism". In short, Browning's danger is that he is thought to be the poetical apostle of individualism in theology. This prepares us for the strict criticism next meted out to George Eliot, as the author passes in review her sudden and complete change of opinion, and her abandonment of all earlier theological and ethical beliefs except faith in and reverence for the law of duty. The theology of George Macdonald and of the Scottish school of fiction occupies two interesting chapters. It is quite fairly maintained that George Macdonald's characters keep up an incessant attack on the supposed extremes of Scottish Calvinism, but it is less fair to connect, so much, the influence of the Scottish school, Barrie and Ian Maclaren, with the theological leanings of the latter writer and with his position as a representative or advocate of the Larger Hope. Besides, how is it that S. R. Crockett is not ranked as one of the Scottish school? The chapter on Mrs. Humphry Ward's Robert Elsmere, and that on the realistic and fatalistic works of Thomas Hardy, furnish less agreeable reading, but the volume closes with a breezy and thoroughly appreciative notice of George Meredith, whose high and keen intellectual gifts, hopeful and religious spirit and superb style, combine to make his message to the time and his contribution to literature most inspiring and wholesome. On the whole, Dr. Wilson has given us a bright, interesting and substantial

volume, and leads us to consider afresh, as is needful and welcome, the thoughts and the influence upon life and character of great writers. Lovers of fiction might complain that the author falls into the habit, which he attributes to George Macdonald, of "too constantly lecturing his reader, and forcing him to swallow large doses of theology". We might point out also that some allusions, such as that to the "Emperor of Germany" (p. 99), might have been spared; and such words as "magnificated" (p. 132), "dehortation" (p. 137) and "visibilised" (p. 274), rather mar the enjoyment of this timely and thoughtful study of modern literature.

Mr. Macphail's Primer on the Historical Geography of the Holy Land is a marvel of condensation. The work is divided into eighteen chapters, clearly written and arranged, and its value is enhanced by numerous illustrations, views and sketches, some of which strike us as particularly good. Mr. Macphail's volume should be prized by ministers and teachers as a reliable and painstaking performance, and will be regarded as an excellent and necessary addition to a useful series.

W. M. RANKIN.

### The Christian Minister: His Aims and Methods.

(Lectures on Pastoral Theology at the four Scottish Universities, Sessions 1897-8 and 1898-9.)

By James Robertson, D.D. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899, Cr. 8vo, pp. 184. Price 3s. 6d.

## The Christianity of St. Paul.

By S. A. Alexander, M.A., Reader of the Temple Church. Longmans, Green, & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 216. Price 4s. 6d.

Among many recent volumes on the work of the Christian ministry there is certainly room for this one, if for no other reason than that stated by Dr. Robertson in the preface: "If I am to speak from experience, I shall speak as a country minister". These lectures present a high ideal of the ministry, whether the sphere of its exercise be in the city or the country. They unite much sobriety and wisdom with much spirituality of mind and feeling. No student preparing for the ministry, and no minister engaged in the work, could read this course of lectures without feeling himself helped and humbled. Its wide circulation would tend to a renewed sense of the need of personal consecration and devotion. It is unnecessary to speak of the lectures in detail, but perhaps where all is so admirable, special reference might be made to Dr. Robertson's remarks as to Visiting, Public Prayer, and the Training of Young Communicants. The value of the book is its faithful reflection of the lecturer's own experience. A lecturer who does not theorise on the subject of "Visiting," for example, but interrupts his lecture by saying, " while writing this I have been at the bedside of a young man," and goes on to describe the case, is just the man to set to this most needful work. How sane, too, and timely is his warning as to the difficulty

of making free prayer liturgical in form: "Do not make that confusion between free and liturgical prayer which demands the same merits in both. Do not strain after securing in an extempore prayer merits which belong to the other, and are only compatible with it." But this is not a volume to quote from. Its special value is the spirit that pervades it. It is certain to create an atmosphere for him who gives heed to it, in which he will at least try to live. It is one of the most practically useful books on its subject that could be named.

The aim of Mr. Alexander's volume, which is not a treatise but a series of sermons, is, says its author, "in a direct and practical and simple way to illustrate the mind of St. Paul on certain great aspects of the Christian faith". In this it fulfils its aim very fully. It is alive with fresh thought and felicitous illustration. It deals more with the ethical than the doctrinal side of St. Paul's teaching, but in the two sermons that come first, on "St. Paul's Conception of God," "St. Paul and the Cross," the preacher shows forcibly that these two elements are not really separable. These pages are full of ideas born of the ethical movements of the time, and are admirable examples of the kind of sermon which is wanted to-day, and will be listened to.

DAVID PURVES.

Encyclopædia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, the Archæology, Geography and Natural History of the Bible.

Edited by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, M.A., D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture at Oxford, and formerly Fellow of Balliol College, Canon of Rochester, and J. Sutherland Black, M.A., LL.D., formerly Assistant-Editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica". Vol. I. A to D. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 4to, pp. xxviii. + 572. Price 20s. net, cloth; 25s. net, half-leather.

This latest addition to the number of our Bible dictionaries is appropriately dedicated to the memory of Professor Robertson Smith. It is in some respects his book. It contains a good deal of his work. But this is but one thing. The Encyclopædia is his idea. He projected it on the completion of the last edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica. He gave much thought to the choice and distribution of subjects, the preparation of minor articles, and the working scheme of the whole undertaking. And when it became evident, alas! that he was not to be spared to proceed with the task himself, he passed it on to the two friends whose names appear on the title-page of this volume. It professes to be carried on as its originator would have had it, in consistency with his principles and methods, and in the spirit of his scholarship, which was always a growing scholarship.

It is doubtful, however, whether in some things it has not gone beyond what Professor Robertson Smith would have regarded as wise or scientifically valid. It is a question whether it does not carry to an extreme not contemplated by himself those critical principles and methods which in his case were always used in ways characterised as much by sober sense and self-restraint as by thoroughness and courage, and whether it has not allowed a much larger place

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to the hypothetical than he would have considered justifiable in a book of this kind. It is always hazardous to calculate the probabilities of how one might have written and what his opinions might have been if his life had been prolonged. It is vastly hazardous to undertake to represent the views which a scholar like Professor Robertson Smith would have embodied in a Bible dictionary prepared years after his decease and in circumstances by no means identical with those in which he thought and wrote in his time. The editors no doubt have done their best to be true to the spirit of his work, and certainly no one would be more careful in this matter than Dr. Sutherland Black, who was so long and so intimately associated with him in official duty as well as in friendship. We must express the opinion, nevertheless, that there are not a few things in this volume which would have had small chance of admission had the control been in Professor Robertson Smith's hands. This is the impression, we believe, that the careful perusal of a certain class of articles will make on many readers who know well what scientific method means, and have no fear of the Higher Criticism. And we say this not only of certain articles dealing with Old Testament questions, but also of some on New Testament subjects of the first importance.

Professor Robertson Smith when he came to certain conclusions on the Old Testament literature, now a good many years ago, was certainly "in the vanguard of critics," as the editors say, and as they justly add, "there is no reason to think that, if he had lived and devoted much of his time to Biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned and his precedence passed to others". To say this is one thing. It is a very different thing to assume that he would have given up those patient, cautious methods and those wide inductions, without which he never committed himself to an opinion, and surrendered himself to those flighty theorisings, one thing to-day and another to-morrow, which are characteristic of an extreme left-wing, and which go far to damage the claims of criticism with men of ordinary sense.

Apart from this, and discounting at present other things

to which we shall have to refer as doubtful or disappointing, it is a pleasure to speak of the great and distinctive merits of this new encyclopædia. In type, form and handiness, it is about all that one could wish. By its system of crossreferences it saves valuable space, and at the same time greatly facilitates our use of it. It is singularly free from misprints or mistakes in statements of fact. It has been edited with the most scrupulous care, and in this we owe most, no doubt, to the experienced and painstaking hand of Dr. Sutherland Black. It has the valuable quality of admitting only what is unmistakably relevant or even indispensable for the purposes of a dictionary. Its pages are never burdened with matter that may in any degree be regarded as superfluous. It carries this severe abstention, indeed, to an extreme. There are things that might have been included with advantage. Much more space place should have been given to the ideas of the Bible. The exclusion of many terms that come within the scope of "Biblical Theology" is a serious disadvantage. It means that those who consult this Encyclopædia will find nothing in it on many questions which have a special interest for them and on which they particularly desire instruction.

The main object of the book, however, is a very definite one. It is to give us, we are told, "no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible as illuminated by criticism—a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be to human eyes most adverse". Its purpose as thus explained is certainly made good, with the weighty exception, however, that the "conceptions" of the Bible have a much smaller place and scantier treatment than the personalities, localities, customs and events. As the preface states, the sympathies of the editors are "upon the whole with what is commonly known as 'advanced'

criticism". They are good enough, however, to assure us that they have "no desire to 'boycott' moderate criticism when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original to say," and "that an 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his 'moderate' colleague," because he himself "probably held not very long ago views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now". Here is condescension indeed. It is difficult for ordinary men to accommodate themselves to such heights. How thankful should they be for the gracious attitude to the feebleness and slowness of their movements which is expressed in these sentences.

Be that as it may, the *Encyclopædia* does ample justice to its declared aim. It is no small service to furnish us with a compact and reliable account of the critical view of the Bible in the stage which it has reached at present, and in the form which it has received from the hands of the most "advanced" scholars of to-day and yesterday. That service is so well discharged in this book that no one need remain ignorant of the very latest findings of criticism, the most recent historical and archæological results, the very newest speculations which have been urged upon our attention by Professor Duhm, Schmiedel, and a score of other fertile and ingenious minds.

Two abatements, however, must be made to the satisfaction with which this service will be generally regarded. In the first place, it would have been better, we think, for most readers if the regard paid to one school of criticism had been less exclusive. What one wishes to get in a Bible dictionary is a complete, however compressed, statement of the data that go to the making of a question as well as of the answers given to it, so that the reader, having both sides before him, may be in a position to form his own judgment and understand the reasonableness of the position affirmed in the article. But in the case of many of the articles of this *Encyclopadia*, the reader might have difficulty in discovering that there is another side at all. In the second place, too much is made of speculations which belong to the individual writer. Many of

these, no doubt, are of interest and have some reason behind Others are of the kind that should find a place in a journal rather than in an encyclopædia—speculations and hypotheses from which the author himself may fall away to-morrow.

But to come to particulars. There are numerous articles of marked ability full of the kind of matter we look for in an encyclopædia, scholarly, modest and trustworthy. The large articles on the Apocrypha (by Dr. M. R. James), Apocalyptic Literature (by Professor Charles), Assyria and Babylonia (by Mr. L. W. King), Arabia (by Professor Nöldeke), Babylon (by Professor Pinches), are of great value. The geographical names, animals and plants, pieces of dress and furniture, agriculture, etc., are well handled by Professor G. Adam Smith, Mr. Norman McLean, Mr. Shipley, Professor A. R. S. Kennedy, Mr. Hope Hogg, Principal Whitehouse and others. Professor Bevan writes well on the Book of Baruch and Belshazzar, Professor Buchanan Gray on Angel, Anointing and other subjects, Professor Massie on Demons, Professor Driver on Bashan, etc., Professor Kamphausen on Daniel. Less satisfactory is the long article on Creation—a composite production by Professors Zimmern and Cheyne, which produces a somewhat confused impression. The article on Aaron by Mr. Addis is remarkable only for the haze in which it leaves the subject. The same must be said of the article on Abraham by Professor Chevne, which seems to allow little or nothing beyond a certain religious value for the reputed father of the faithful. Professor Budde's article on the Canon is far from complete, although it has much good matter. Nor is the great subject of Chronology treated so fully or so reasonably as in the Edinburgh Dictionary of the Bible. In particular the intricate questions of New Testament chronology fare rather poorly at the hands of Professor von Soden, whose contribution is neither quite up-to-date nor free from hasty and confident assumptions.

As to New Testament subjects, a considerable number have been entrusted to German scholars. It cannot be said that these are the most satisfactory. There is no better

article than Canon Sanday's on the Epistles to the Corinthians. It is a model of modest, learned, sure-footed inquiry. Its only fault is its brevity. Canon Armitage Robinson deals with the terms Apostle, Baptism, Bishop, Canon (of the New Testament), Church, Deacon. His articles are careful and laborious, but they are not so free of bias as could have been They make too much of inferences from what existed in the Post-Apostolic Church to what must have existed in the Apostolic Church. They make some very doubtful statements about the use of the term ἐπίσκοπος, and misapprehend Paul's view of Baptism. Colossians and Ephesians are on the whole well handled by Professor Jülicher, and Professor Bousset's articles on Antichrist and Apocalypse, though not without some doubtful theorising, are full of information. But we can express little admiration for Professor Schmiedel's article on Acts, with which must also be taken his briefer paper on Barnabas. He writes also on Barjesus, Bartimæus, Christian, Cleopas, Cornelius. He is in a perpetual attitude of doubt. He doubts whether Cleopas (Luke xxiv. 18) is "an historical person at all". He thinks it "permissible to doubt whether our Lord used in their present forms such expressions as we now find in Mark ix. 37, 41; xiii. 13—that is to say, with the emphasis on His own name". Yet he is at times singularly ready to believe. He thinks the one word πρωτότοκος sufficient to settle the question about the "brethren of Jesus," and he has little difficulty in believing that the author of Acts was acquainted with Josephus. The "we" sections of Acts are, according to him, the only thoroughly reliable parts, and the discourses of Paul in Acts "embody a theology quite different from that of the epistles". The whole article is a relapse into the ways of the older Tübingen criticism. It is dogmatic in tone, and, disregarding the labours of men like Lightfoot and Ramsay and all that has occurred of late to favour an early date dismisses the book with magnificent assurance into somewhere between A.D. 105 and 130.

A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, in Judaism, and in Christianity, or Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian Eschatology from pre-Prophetic Times till the close of the New Testament Canon.

Being the Jowett Lectures for 1898-99.

By R. H. Charles, D.D., Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 428. Price 15s.

Professor Charles enjoys a well-earned reputation among students of the pseudepigraphic literature of Judaism. that interesting and comparatively novel line of inquiry he has made important additions to our knowledge. We owe him much for what he has done for the Book of Enoch, the Book of the Secrets of Enoch, the Book of Baruch, the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Book of Jubilees, and the Assumption of Moses. This is a field he has made peculiarly his own, and one on which he has a better warrant to speak than most English scholars. In the present volume he ventures far beyond the province which is most familiar to him, and penetrates into territories to which many scholars of the highest rank have given their entire attention, and in which they have been long at work. He embraces in the sweep of his inquiry the whole range of thought on the great questions of the end from the earliest days of Israel to Peter, Paul and John.

It is a large and difficult undertaking, but undoubtedly one of great interest. Professor Charles expresses the hope that in carrying his investigations "backward into the Old Testament and forward into the New," he has done so "in both cases . . . with fresh and fruitful results". He has certainly produced a learned book, and has placed a number of things in new relations. It is a book from which much can be gathered, and to which we are indebted for not a little that is enlightening and suggestive. No great novelty, however, can be claimed for its main results. They are sufficiently familiar to us, and have been urged upon our acceptance by others, although Dr. Charles has come to them by a way that is in some respects his own. Nor can it be said that they

are all equally well founded, or that Dr. Charles is equally successful in all the different sections of his inquiry. It is given to few to excel in three distinct, though related, departments of scholarship, and it soon appears that Professor Charles's work is of greatest value in the chapters devoted to

the Apocryphal and Apocalyptic literature.

These chapters contain much that Professor Charles has given us elsewhere in a somewhat different form. But they show the author at his best, and students will be grateful for them. In these we feel that we are in contact with one who knows the ground thoroughly, and has much to open up to our view. Opinions are expressed, it is true, and methods of interpretation followed which will not gain general consent. There is sometimes a disposition to get rid of awkward passages by the ready expedient of excision or by adopting non-natural interpretations. That the phrase חויי עולם e.g., in Daniel xii. 2 (which book is introduced among the Apocalypses) cannot mean more than "an aeonian life" is held to "follow from the general presuppositions of the writer". "extension of the prerogative of resurrection from the righteous to the wicked" is dealt with as a "declension in religious thought "-a view of things due to the author's particular reading of the course of development ascribed to the ideas of Israel. The judgments which Professor Charles has expressed elsewhere on the construction and dates of the more disputable writings are repeated here, although little is given in the way of argument. Chapters i.-xxxvi. of the Ethiopic Enoch are referred to about B.C. 170; chapters lxxxiii.-xc. of the same are assigned to B.C. 166-161, and are regarded as a considerable advance upon the former section, though so nearly related to it in point of time, in the spirituality of their ideas. Chapters xci.-civ. are referred to B.C. 134-95 or more nearly B.C. 104-95; and the section known as the "Similitudes" (chaps. xxxvii.-lxx.) is regarded as pre-Christian, being placed at B.C. 94-64. The Slavonic Enoch is assigned to A.D. 1-50, the Book of Jubilees to some time before A.D. 10, and the Assumption of Moses to A.D. 7-29. In the case of 4 Esdras the critical results of Kabisch are provisionally accepted, and the book is held to consist of five independent writings, two belonging to the period before the fall of Jerusalem and making an "Ezra Apocalypse," and three belonging to some time after that catastrophe and forming a "Son of Man Vision". As to the Apocalypse of Baruch, which belongs to the latter half of the first century of our era, Professor Charles abides by the conclusions stated in his useful edition of the book. In his view this Apocalypse is so composite a work that we have to recognise in it no less than six independent constituents—three fragmentary Messiah Apocalypses, all written before A.D. 70, and three later sections B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, B<sub>3</sub>. Of these latter B<sub>1</sub> is thought to stand by itself and to be made up of these several portions—i.-ix. I; xliii.-xliv. 7; xlv.-xlvi. 6; lxxvii.-lxxxii.; lxxxvii.; lxxxvii.

In all this there is much ingenuity—too much of it indeed. On such questions we give a great deal for Professor Charles's opinion. But we feel that we are yet a long way from anything like certain results, and that the critical faculty would be all the better of a little more restraint. Conclusions drawn from critical positions of so hypothetical a kind, and so provisional a value with regard to the rise, order and development of religious ideas, have to be taken with a very strong caveat.

But to come to the substance of these chapters. We get an excellent account of the Apocalyptic literature as a whole -how it arose and grew, how it had its point of issue and its stimulus in unfulfilled prophecy, especially in those unrealised prophecies which bore upon the date of the Messianic kingdom; how it differed from prophecy in its transference of interest from the present to the future, in its adoption of pseudonymity of authorship, in its mechanical view of history, etc. The detailed analysis of the various writings, the description of the groups into which they fall along the course of the three centuries B.C. 200-A.D. 100, the statement of the points of distinction between the groups, and the general view given of the line of development—all this is done with marked ability and brings up many points of interest. The progress in the doctrine of retribution; the effect of the dualism that made itself increasingly felt in Judaism; the way in which the conceptions of soul, spirit, sheol, etc., were modified; the senses attaching at different stages and in

different schools to such terms as Paradise, Gehenna, etc.; the changes in the ideas of Messiah's Kingdom, and in the conception of Messiah himself—on these and other subjects akin to them the book will bear to be read more than once. The conclusions in some cases may not appear to others so certain as Professor Charles takes them to be. But they deserve the consideration due to the results of careful and prolonged study.

A number of incidental questions which are of much interest are also dealt with in this section of the volume. Among these is the force of the title "the Son of Man" in the "Similitudes" of the Book of Enoch. Professor Charles contests the attempts made by Wellhausen, Eerdmans and Lietzmann to strip the term "the Son of Man," as used there, of its Messianic force, and to reduce it to the rank of a simple synonym for "man". He notices particularly the argument drawn from the fact that the term is almost always accompanied by a demonstrative pronoun; whence it is concluded that it cannot be a distinctive title of Messiah. This brings out the fact that in the Ethiopic Enoch the demonstratives used with the title are renderings not of the Greek demonstrative but of the Greek article. The proof which he offers is stated with admirable precision. It seems to us to be convincing, and amply to justify Professor Charles in claiming that the title "the Son of Man" represents in the Ethiopic Enoch the Greek ὁ νίὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, that it is Messianic, and that in the "Similitudes," therefore, we have the source or, as we should rather say, the nearest source, of the New Testament designation—always provided of course that this section of the Book of Enoch is pre-Christian.

But we must return to the earlier section of the book, and to the way in which the Old Testament doctrine is handled. There are many things here with which we are in cordial agreement. There is, for example, the recognition of the fact that the Old Testament ideas of the future life must be studied in the light of the Old Testament doctrine of God. There is the fundamental position that the Old Testament faith cannot be explained as a merely natural development. There is the further affirmation that from the beginning the

history and the religion were interwoven in Israel. There is the rejection of Gunkel's notion that the rise of the doctrine of the resurrection in Israel cannot be traced in the Old Testament, but was "borrowed in its fully developed form from the East". And on the broader aspects of this doctrine of the resurrection we are glad to find that Professor Charles expresses surprise that some scholars attempt to affiliate it on that of Mazdeism, and fail to see that in its earliest form it is essentially different from the Zoroastrian. The most important declarations of the old Testament on questions of the end, e.g., Ps. xlix., Isaiah xxvi., Job xix., are also, at least for the most part, worthily and adequately interpreted. We cannot agree with Professor Charles, however, in placing Ps. xvi. and Ps. xvii. out of relation to the hope of a future life, least of all on the ground that they are Psalms of the community, not of the individual. Nor can we follow him in some other things. Too often a passage that presents difficulty is got rid of as an interpolation. Professor Charles goes too easily with those who would treat the various references to judgment in Ecclesiastes, and the passages in Amos, Isaiah, Hosea and Micah, which look to the advent of Messiah and the Messianic kingdom, as intrusions into the text. Too much space, too, is given to a discussion of the theory of ancestor worship. Professor Charles is of opinion that, the dominion of Yahvism being a circumscribed dominion, Yahvism had no definite eschatology except in respect of the nation till long after the return from the exile, and that the "primitive eschatology of the individual in Israel is derived from heathen sources, i.e., from ancestor worship". But this whole theory of ancestor worship in Israel, on which Professor Charles's reading of the Old Testament ideas so largely depends, is far from being the established thing which it is taken here to be.

His whole treatment of these Old Testament conceptions is open to serious question in another direction. That is the way in which he arrives at his view of their historical development. He proposes to follow the historical method, in which of course he is right. But he claims the distinction of abandoning the "beaten track," and tells us that this is

"due in part to the method pursued". He speaks as if "very few" scholars have seen it to be necessary to study a passage in anything but its "textual context," and as if he were himself the opener of new paths in the respect he pays to the historical context. This sounds strange; no recognised scholar thinks of adopting any other methods surely than those of historical exegesis and historical criticism. But there may be great differences in the application of these methods. They are used in one way by scholars like Mommsen and Hort, in a very different way by others who need not be named. And the question is: What is the measure of Professor Charles's scientific care in the matter of his foundations? Now when we turn to his treatment of the Old Testament idea of the "Day of the Lord," with which the Old Testament doctrines of Judgment and Resurrection are connected, we find that he takes a certain historical order of the writings as the basis of his exposition of the historical development of the ideas. The historical order is this: Amos, circa B.C. 760; Hosea, 746-734; Isaiah, 740-701; Micah, circa 723-700; Nahum, 664-607, and Habakkuk, 605-600; Zephaniah, before 621; Jeremiah, 626-586, and Ezekiel, 593-571; the Second Isaiah xl.-lv., 545-539; (Psalms xxii., lxv., lxxxvi., lxxxviii.); Malachi, before 458; Isaiah xix. 16-25, circa 275; some Post-Exilic Fragments of Isaiah, e.g., xiv. 1-3, lxvi. 12-16, 18a-20, xxxiv., xxxv., etc.; Haggai, 520; Zechariah i.-viii., 520-518; Joel, before 400; Zechariah xii.-xiv., before B.C. 300; Daniel, 168-167; Isaiah lxv., lxvi., before B.C. 400, these "composite chapters" being taken last "in defiance of historical sequence".

That is the basis, but can any one say it is assured? The dates and relative positions assigned to some of these writings are fairly well established, but in the case of others they are quite hypothetical. If the arrangement is changed, the construction of the historical order and progress of the ideas is changed. Even as it is, retrogression has to be acknowledged as well as advance, and writers lying very near each other in time have to be regarded as teaching very different doctrine. All is too precise and too confident. It is also forgotten that the place of an idea in the actual life and

thought of a people may not be quite the same as the place it has in their literature.

When we come to the New Testament, we find the same highly hypothetical methods followed and large conclusions attached to them. These conclusions are adverse to certain doctrines as they have been generally understood, especially those of the Second Advent, the Resurrection, and the perpetuity of future awards. How are they reached? By an extensive use of the knife for one thing. The view of the Second Advent, e.g., which is given in Mark xiii, is pronounced "suspicious," and verses 7, 8, 14-20, 24-27, 30, 31, are declared to call for "removal". Such passages again as Matthew xxiv. 6-8, 15-22, 29-31, 34-35; Luke xxi. 9-11, 20-28, 32, 33, are discounted as forming parts of a Jewish-Christian Apocalypse introduced there. The doctrine of a resurrection of the unrighteous as well as the righteous is held not to have been taught by our Lord Himself, and to be no part of the genuine teaching of the New Testament. Such passages, it is true, as Luke xx. 27-40, are inconsistent with that. But then such passages must go, and the Lucan account is not to be accepted. It is not to be supposed that John taught anything but a "spiritual" doctrine of the resurrection. Such very definite passages, it is true, as John v. 28, 29, speak against this, but such passages also must go, and at the same time all these (vi. 39, 40, 44, 54; xiii. 48) which use the words "at the last day" in this connection must be held to be interpolations. There remains St. Paul, and there is much in his Epistles that is difficult to fit in with all this. But his doctrine is inconsistent. His eschatology passed through no less than four stages, and in the last of these it was very different from what it was when he began to write. His ideas were at first rude and Judaic, but at last they became spiritual. He thought no doubt that when he was writing his Epistles to the Thessalonians and Corinthians he was rightly interpreting Christ's mind. But in this he was mistaken. There are modern theologians by the round dozen who know far better than he.

#### Notices.

It was a matter of course that a Life of Edward White Benson 1 should be undertaken. The task was committed to competent hands, and it has been completed with remarkable despatch. The good fortune that attended the late Archbishop and brought him one great prize after another during his life-time, seems to have pursued him even after his decease. Men of highest distinction in their time have been left without Life or Memoirs till the recollection of their work has well nigh faded out of the public mind. Dr. Benson has had the record of his life written when the impression of his personality and position is yet fresh and strong. And on the whole the book is a worthy tribute to the man. When one takes it up, indeed, he feels overwhelmed by its vast bulk. spin out the story even of the career of an English archbishop to the extent of some fifteen hundred big pages does not appear either very wise or very defensible. If so much is spent on Dr. Benson, of how many volumes might not Bishop Butler, Bishop Lightfoot, or Dr. Hort be judged worthy? It would require a devotee to read through all this mass of matter with anything like care. The book would be much the better of extensive reductions. The controversies in which the Archbishop became involved might be told with less detail. A smaller number of his own letters might The space given to appreciations from the pens of friends might with great advantage be diminished. would it be a serious loss if we had less of the Archbishop's poetical efforts. He had something of the feeling of a poet, but he had not the gift of poetical expression in any remarkable degree. When all is said, however, the Life remains a good one. Mr. Benson has the art of putting things well. He carries us on through this long, long story much better

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Life of Edward White Benson, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. By his son, Arthur Christopher Benson, of Eton College. In two volumes. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 648; viii. + 851. Price 36s. net.

than we expect when we start. He writes also with discretion and fairness. Filial feeling is not allowed to disturb the true proportions of things. We get a very just idea of what the Archbishop was from these well written and honest volumes.

Among other things we see that, if Dr. Benson was fortunate above most men, and attained a rank to which some of greater parts than can be claimed for him seemed to have a prior claim, he did unquestionably fill each position that fell to him, in Wellington College, in Lincoln, in Truro, in Canterbury, with great ability and honour. In none of the promotions that came to him could it be said that a mistake had been made, or that expectations had not been fulfilled and even more than fulfilled. He had the qualities that suited high ecclesiastical position, and made him a good guide in Church policy. He had not those, however, that could make him an effective director of the thought of his time. As far as one can judge from these volumes, he had little insight into the great intellectual movements of the day even on their religious side. He dwelt apart from the influences which were set at work by the theory of evolution and the methods of the Higher Criticism, and had little idea of their force or their meaning. But he was by nature an ecclesiastic, we might even say a mediævalist, with a strong Churchly instinct, a great value for the pomp and grandeur of the English Communion, a distinctively liturgical mind, a courtly manner, a happy way of commending himself to dignitaries, and with it all good practical sense and great powers of application. He studied to be fair also to those outside his own Church, though it is too obvious that he did not understand them. His devoutness, too, could not be mistaken, and the severe, passionate, imperious note that characterised him in his earlier life gradually subsided into a sympathy and graciousness that won him favour and a warmer regard. He was happy also in his friends, above all in the life-long attachment and esteem of Bishop Lightfoot. Had he been differently placed, he might have made some considerable contribution to the scholarship and literature of his time. But in this he did not succeed. His published writings, while sensible enough, have nothing remarkable in them, and do not appeal to those beyond a particular circle. His most important work—his book on Cyprian—shows much conscientious care, and bears witness to a most diligent use of the occasional snatches of leisure allowed by a busy life. It is a useful book, but it is written in a difficult style, and leaves much yet to do for its subject. It is as a devoted Churchman, a sagacious Church leader, a strong and imposing figure in the world of Church administration and Church ceremonial, that Dr. Benson will be best remembered. In these volumes Mr. Benson helps us to see this and much else. He has done his work, too, with such good judgment that only one thing occurs to us as matter of regret. That is the introduction of the Queen's name and opinions in connection with the Archbishop's views on the relations of Church and State.

We expected something from Dr. Robert Wallace's George Buchanan. The book, however, is a great disappointment. In saying this we do not forget that the author unfortunately died before he was able to finish his work. But when every allowance is made for the fact that the book is not what it might have been if Dr. Wallace had lived to complete it and revise it, it must still be said that it is no great contribution to the series of which it forms a part. It reads easily, and has not a few piquant passages; but, as an appreciation of Buchanan, or an estimate of his place in Scottish literature and in the history of the Reformation movement, it is of small value. It is given over to the manufacture of smart sayings and pronouncements that are meant to startle or dazzle. It misunderstands or misjudges Knox in a singular way. Dr. Wallace speaks, e.g., of Knox's letters to Mrs. Bowes and others as written in "phraseology that was absolutely unctuous". He tells us that when Buchanan "narrates the hanging of a priest, according to statute, for saying Mass a third time, he does not exult," and then throws

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> George Buchanan. By Robert Wallace. Completed by J. Campbell Smith. Famous Scots Series. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. vi. + 146. Price 1s. 6d.

in a sentence of hypothesis and innuendo like this about the exultation-" as was no doubt done by the men of the 'Congregation,' and possibly by Knox himself, when they heard of the happy event". But if the book has been unfortunate in missing the finishing touch of its author, it has been doubly unfortunate in falling into the hands of Mr. Campbell Smith as editor. He completes the story, and in doing so he takes the opportunity of enriching us with his own opinions on Mary and Elizabeth and others. He commands "the modest and honest muse of History" to "cease howling and canting" about the crimes of the former, and has not a little to say of "her royal cousin and rival, flaunting her fictitious moral and physical beauties at the head" of the world in which Mary had to live, and so forth. We do not grudge him all this, however superfluous it may be, but he might at least have regard to good taste and the Queen's English. Here is what seems to be meant for wit: "It is not likely that Buchanan ever asked the Town Council of Edinburgh for bread, but it is believed that they gave him a stone, without any inscription, however, to show for what it was intended, so that by 1701 it was lost or stolen". And how the English language fares at the hands of such an adept in fine writing as Mr. Campbell Smith, may be judged by the closing sentence of the book; it is the wind up of what he calls his "Epilogistic" chapter. The sentence is too long to give in full, for it sprawls over six and twenty lines, but here is the conclusion, interpret it who can: "Nevertheless he holds a title to lasting remembrance as sure as the story of the Reformation and the era of the never-to-be-forgotten Mary Stuart can give; also the unique distinction of being the greatest master of the Latin language since it died as a vernacular, and became the immortal medium of intercommunion for the wide, high and cold republic of scholars and thinkers, scattered through realms of ether and cloudland, and lit by volcanic fire and spiritual aurora fitfully lifting the night from the peaks of rock and ice". We are tempted to say that this is next door to rant; but it might not be lawful to speak thus of a sheriff.

The English translation of Harnack's Dogmengeschichte 1 is now completed by the publication of the seventh volume. The translation follows the third German edition. translator is William Gilchrist, B.D., who has acquitted himself in a difficult task with a very fair measure of success. This volume is equal in interest to any of its predecessors. It deals, among other things, with the issues of dogma in Roman Catholicism, Antitrinitarianism, Socinianism, and Protestantism. Its characterisation of Luther and its criticism of Luther's theology are of special importance. A high claim is preferred in behalf of Ritschl, as we might expect. Harnack says of Ritschl, whom he describes as "the most disdainfully treated theologian of the age," that he has "given expression in a powerful way . . . to the outcome of two hundred years' work on the part of evangelical theology in endeavouring to understand the Reformation, and to the products of criticism of doctrinaire Lutheranism". Many of Harnack's judgments provoke dissent. But all students of theology will be grateful for the book and for the copious and most helpful index to the seven volumes which is given in this closing volume.

The tenth volume of *The Expository Times* <sup>2</sup> is before us. The magazine has established itself far and wide in the homes of the clergy as a trusted guide. Subjects of different kinds, old and new, popular and scientific, are dealt with in this volume, so that there is in each monthly part something for readers of the most various tastes and needs. The editor has the help of scholars of all kinds, home and foreign, and is himself always quick to make his readers acquainted with matters of the most novel interest in Biblical study. Professor Ramsay contributes a series of valuable papers on "The Greek of the Early Church and the Pagan Ritual". Subjects like the "Hebrew Ecclesiasticus," the "Hittite Inscriptions," and the results of "Recent Biblical Archæology," receive

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> History of Dogma. By Dr. Adolph Harnack. Vol. vii. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 328. Price 10s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. 568. Price 7s. 6d.

due attention. There are numerous notes on the criticism and interpretation of difficult passages both in the Old Testament and in the New, sketches of theologians, discussions of Biblical ideas, ecclesiastical usages and institutions, and much else that will be of use to the working minister and others.

The latest volume of Good Words 1 will stand comparison with the issues of former years. It is a goodly volume, full of profitable and readable matter of many different kinds. It has stories for those who like these best, and no doubt they are the great majority. But it has also its poems, its essays, its narratives, its scientific papers, its sketches of great men, and many other things that are well told. It is also richly illustrated. No magazine deserves a heartier welcome to our homes. It maintains the high standard which it set before itself when it was started, and continues to be very ably edited.

The first issue of the American Journal of Theology for the year has some important articles. Professor C. A. Briggs of New York deals with the "New Testament Doctrine of the Church". He limits himself to the biblical idea of the Church. and starts with the just principle that the New Testament doctrine must be studied in the light of its Old Testament foundations. He proceeds to investigate the use of the term ἐκκλησία itself, and having done this he examines other terms, "Kingdom of God," "people," "vine," "flock," "city of God," "house or temple of God," "household" or "family," "wife" or "bride," "body," which appear in association with the same idea. He leaves to others to construct a doctrine which shall do justice to all these elements. The Rev. John Macpherson writes on the question, "Was there a Second Imprisonment of Paul in Rome?" His argument is that there is nothing outside the Pastoral Epistles to favour the idea of a release at the end of the two years' imprisonment, and that the historical relations, local allusions, etc., of these Epistles may be explained quite fairly from the standpoint of a single

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edited by the Very Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D. London: Isbister & Co. Pp. 860. Price 7s. 6d.

imprisonment. Professor C. R. Henderson of Chicago has a very readable paper on "A Half Century after Thomas Chalmers," most appreciative of the great Scottish divine. Dr. Julius A. Brewer of New York contributes a learned and very valuable statement on the "History of the New Testament Canon in the Syrian Church" showing how the case has been affected by the discovery of the Codex Syrus Sinaiticus.

The second number of the Journal of Theological Studies contains some notes on St. Mark xv. 34, in Codex Bobiensis, on the text of Codex \( \Psi \) in St. Mark, on the baptismal Rite in the Canons of Hippolytus, etc., which will be of interest to scholars. Mr. Brightman gives his second paper on "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," Mr. C. H. Turner begins a learned study of the "Early Episcopal Lists," which promises to be of value; the present paper is introductory, dealing with questions necessary to the appreciation of Eusebius and his Chronicle. Mr. G. Buchanan Grav gives a short but careful and suggestive survey of what is known, or supposed to be known, of the institution of the Nazirite, with the special object of raising the question whether "the connexion between the permanent Nazirite and the temporary Nazirite was more than nominal and external". Students of the New Testament will read with special interest Professor Sanday's article on "A New Work on the Parables"-a criticism of Jülicher's Gleichnissreden Jesu. Professor Sanday criticises very forcibly various things in Jülicher's critical position and method—his rejection of the explanations which our Lord Himself gave of certain parables, according to the Gospels; his rejection also of the account which is given of our Lord's object in speaking in parables; his general disposition to throw much overboard as the mistaken interpretations of the disciples and evangelists, etc. With all this we agree, and not less with the cordial recognition of the exegetical merits of the book. In the latter, indeed, we should go further than Professor Sanday, if we understand him aright. For perhaps the most outstanding quality of Jülicher's exposition is the consistency with which he keeps by the particular truth which each parable, studied in the light of its occasion,

is found to be intended to teach, and his refusal to turn away to side-lessons. Professor Sanday thinks it a curious mind which allows itself no "side-glances". Such "side-glances," he thinks, occur in the parables, and are not to be ignored. This is a position which might easily lead the exegete far afield. Jülicher's principle is surely the right one—that the parable is meant to "illustrate a single thought by means of an  $\delta\mu$ oτον". Nor do we know any parable to which that principle is not obviously applicable. The Prodigal Son may seem an exception, but the question even there is whether we have a parable in two parts, or whether the figure of the elder brother is simply a further contribution to the idea embodied in the picture of the father and the prodigal.

In the second last number of the Homiletic Review for 1899, Professor J. F. McCurdy of Toronto gives us his ideas of "Method in the Biblical Study of the Monuments". He points out how biblical archæology has quite recently "enlarged its scope and changed its methods," and reminds us of certain things which have to be considered in the use we make of the "finds" of archæology. He calls attention, e.g., to the facts that "Egyptian history was never brought into vital and organic connexion with that of Israel"; that the Egyptians were "only very remotely connected by race with the Hebrews"; and that they made "very inaccurate historical records". He gives some instances of the "incertitude and confusion" which arise from hasty acceptance of "discoveries" and from the want of proper criteria of the historical or literary value of the announcements that are often made. In the first number for the current year Professor W. M. Ramsay has a paper on "The Acts of the Apostles," in which he puts very clearly the effect which the better understanding of Roman imperial history must have on the interpretation of the New Testament writings, and tells us how he was himself driven out of his original "confident assumption" that the book of Acts was a fabrication of the middle of the the second century.

The current number of Mind opens with a brief paper by the editor, Dr. G. F. Stout, on "Perception of Change and Duration," prepared originally as a presidential address before the Aristotelian Society. It deals with the question how far and in what sense it is necessary, when we perceive a temporal process, that "representations of prior parts of the time-series should be present to our consciousness in the perception of succeeding parts". It gives an acute criticism of Meinong's contention that the "memory images of previous stages of a successive process" must be held to be in consciousness although they cannot be detected. Mrs. Bosanquet concludes her translation of Ferdinand Tönnies on Philosophical Terminology, and Mr. Hugh MacColl gives his third paper on "Symbolic Reasoning". Mr. Howard V. Knox examines Green's Refutation of Empiricism, and comes to the conclusion that the doctrine that thought is not in time makes psychology, knowledge of nature, and philosophy all three alike impossible. Mr. F. H. Bradley writes in "Defence of Phenomenalism in Psychology," holding that "phenomenalism," while it is "senseless" in metaphysics, is the "one rational attitude" in psychology, and that what is needed to make this plain is mainly to fix the true sense of the term and clear it from mistakes and perversions. A paper by Professor Henry Sidgwick on "Criteria of Truth and Error" deserves special attention for its just and balanced estimates of the Cartesian, Empirical, and Spencerian criteria. Mr. Spencer's universal postulate is declared "inadequate to guarantee even the primordial datum of his own philosophy''. Each of these criteria is admitted to be of some use or to have some value. But each is inadequate, and all three fail, though in different degrees, to provide the required bulwark against scepticism.

The Churchman for the current year opens with a paper by Canon Benham on Archbishops Juxon and Sheldon. The Rev. W. B. Russell-Caley writes pointedly on certain "Landmarks of the English Church," to wit, her great evangelical doctrines of justification, ministry, etc., the removal of which cannot be suffered.

The Bibliotheca Sacra for the first quarter of 1900 is a very good number. Dr. Hugh M. Scott contributes an instructive article on "Modern Theology in Relation to Personal Piety and

Christian Work," in which he contrasts, in respect of their practical character and effects, three great types of present day theology, viz., the conservative or evangelical, the rationalist or Unitarian, and the "mediating" represented by the school of Schleiermacher and Coleridge, as also, though in a different way, by Ritschlianism. Dr. T. W. Hunt writes in a very interesting way of "Edmund Spenser and the English Reformation," exhibiting the attitude of the great English poet to the classical Paganism of his time, his strong Protestantism and his "mitigated Puritanism" (to borrow Dean Church's phrase)—a Puritanism not identical with that of Milton or Baxter, but which was not only antagonistic to Rome but opposed to elaborate ceremonial and to the Papal tendencies of the prelacy. Sociological questions also have, as usual, considerable attention given to them.

The Antiquary for January continues Mr. Haverfield's "Notes on Roman Britain," and Mr. Feasey's interesting series of papers on "Curiosities of and in our Ancient Churches". There are also good articles on "Old Genoa" by the Rev P. H. Ditchfield, and the "British Section of Antonine's Itinerary" by Canon Raven, etc.

The Revue de Théologie et des Questions religieuses for January 1900 contains among other things an appreciative estimate of the late Professor A. B. Bruce by G. Roux, a paper on "Original Sin" by C. Combe, and an article by C. Bruston calling attention to certain things in the opening verses of the epistle to the Hebrews which he thinks have not been sufficiently regarded. He claims also that the reading  $\phi \acute{e}\rho \omega \nu \tau \epsilon \tau \grave{a} \pi \acute{a}\nu \tau a$  in the third verse should give place to  $\phi a\nu \epsilon \rho \grave{a}\nu \tau \epsilon \tau a$  in the ground that it is given in the Vatican MS. (by a third hand) and is supported by the treatise  $\pi \epsilon \rho \grave{a}\nu \tau \rho \acute{b}\kappa \kappa a \dot{a}\nu \iota \delta a \dot{a}\nu \iota \delta a$  discovered in a monastery of Mount Athos, attributed to Bishop Serapion of Thmuis, and edited by Dr. G. Wobberman in Texte und Untersuchungen der altchristlichen Literatur, 1899.

Archdeacon Wilson publishes Two Sermons on Some of the Mutual Influences of Theology and the Natural Sciences. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 36. Price 6d. net.

were delivered at the special service for members of the British Association in Dover last autumn. They were worthy of the occasion, and it is well that they are given to a larger public. They are closely reasoned and lucidly written. Their special value lies in the testimony of their author, a man who knows science and has an interest in theology, to certain fundamental analogies between science and theology, certain notable influences of science on theology and of theology on science, and the probable course which the process of change in the attitude of faith to science, philosophy and criticism will take in the future.

The tenth volume of the fifth series of the Expositor 1 contains some notable articles, such as Dr. Bacon's "Criticism of the New Chronology of Paul," and Professor A. B. Davidson's study of "The Word Atone in Extra-ritual Literature". Dr. John Watson continues his papers on the great points of Evangelical Doctrine, and there are other articles which will appeal to a wider audience than students of theology or Christian preachers. There is all the old variety of contents in the most recent volume. Nor is there any diminution of the strong qualities which have made the magazine welcome in many a house.

We have also to notice the charge delivered by the Bishop of Rochester on the occasion of his primary visitation of his diocese, discoursing under the title of *The Vocation and Dangers of the Church* <sup>2</sup> in a sensible and candid way on the forces of the Church, the due discharge of her duties in missionary enterprise, education, worship, etc., and the conditions under which progress may be looked for hereafter; a series of sermons by Jenkin Lloyd Jones bearing the curious title of *Jess*, *Bits of Wayside Gospel*, <sup>3</sup> on subjects found out of doors in which a lover of nature and science discovers "near beauties and high duties"—discourses or meditations in which many good remarks are made

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899 Cr. 8vo, pp. 476. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 115. Price 2s. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> New York: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 313. Price 6s.

on such topics as "Realising Life," "A Dinner of Herbs," "Earth's Fulness," "The Religion of the Bird's Nest," "The Uplands of the Spirit," etc.; The Atonement, by the Rev. A. Ernest Simms, M.A., B.D., late Scholar of Trinity College, Dublin, a series of four simple but thoughtful addresses, in which the objective efficacy of Christ's Sacrifice is expounded and defended in a clear and telling way; The Minister's Ward,2 a healthy and interesting temperance story by V. Brown-Patterson, one of several recent volumes of instructive and well-written tales published at a very low price by the Sunday School Union; a second issue, carefully revised and enlarged, of the tasteful and scholarly edition, in Greek and Latin, of the Devotions of Bishop Andrewes,3 published four years ago by the Rev. Henry Veale, B.A., of University College, Durham -a book on which great pains have been spent and which has been a labour of love on the part of the editor; the annual volume of The Sunday Magazine,4 one of the best of our religious serials, conducted with as much vigour and discretion as ever, a mine of interesting and elevating reading into which one may dip at any point and be sure to find what will attract and profit him; The Children's Pace, 5 a collection of twenty addresses to children, by the Rev. J. S. Maver, M.A., which takes its title from Genesis, xxiii. 14, in the Revised Version-brief, pointed addresses, prepared by one who has the art required for success in such compositions; four further parts of Holtzmann and Krüger's Theologischer Jahresbericht,6 giving the literature of 1898 on Historical,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. iv.+87. Price 1s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 256. Price 2s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Cambridge: Deighton Bell & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxii.+468.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> London: Isbister & Co. Royal 8vo, pp. viii. +856. Price 7s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 175. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Achtzehnter Band. Zweite Abtheilung, Historische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Lüdemann, etc. 8vo, pp. 191-464 c.; dritte Abtheilung. Systematische Theologie. Bearbeitet von Mayer, Troeltsch, etc. 8vo, pp. 465-615. Vierte Abtheilung. Praktische Theologie und kirchliche Kunst. Bearbeitet von Marbach, etc. Ergänzung zur zweiten Abthei-

Systematic and Practical Theology, with a supplement on Church History, prepared as usual with the most painstaking care and of the greatest value to students; Comfort and Help for Common Days, a series of daily readings well suited for their purpose, prepared by the skilled hand of the Rev. J. R. Miller and printed in a very attractive form; a scholarly study of the Word "Selah," in which Dr. Emilie Grace Briggs of New York reviews the various conjectures as to the meaning and use of the term, and concludes that it was a "liturgical direction, providing for the lifting up of the voices in a doxology at the close of a liturgical section and indicating the proper division of psalm or prayer in liturgical usuage"; Psychiatrie und Seelsorge,3 a treatise by Dr. A. Römer of Stuttgart, carefully constructed and giving the results of his experience on the nature and treatment of many forms of mental ailment, the relations between the psychical and the physical, and the application of all to the work of the pastor as the healer of souls; a timely and pleasantly-written volume by David Williamson on The Life Story of D. L. Moody; 4 another edition of Professor Alexander Campbell Fraser's Berkeley,<sup>5</sup> one of the most fascinating volumes in the well-known series of Philosophical Classics, made still more interesting by the careful revision to which it has been subjected in the light of new material acquired since 1871; another and no less welcome edition also of Professor Fraser's Selections from Berkeley Annotated,6 a book of estab-

lung. Kirchengeschichte von 1648 an. Bearbeitet von Alfred Hegler. 1899. Berlin: Schwetzke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, Price M.10., M.7., M.8., M.2.

<sup>1</sup> London: Sunday School Union. Price 1s.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted from the American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Oct. 1899.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. +343. Price M.5.

<sup>4</sup> London: Sunday School Union. Cr. 8vo, pp. 141. Price 1s.

<sup>5</sup> A new edition, amended. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. +228. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>6</sup> By Alexander Campbell Fraser, D.C.L. Oxon. Fifth edition, emended. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xlviii. + 336. Price 8s. 6d.

lished reputation and recognised worth, valued both for its admirable Introduction and its lucid Notes, an important help and attractive guide to students of philosophy; Can I believe in God the Father?1—a series of fair, lucid, effective lectures by Professor William Newton Clarke, on the Being of God, Divine Personality, the relation between God and man, and the moral effect of the doctrine of God, excellent examples of popular Apologetics; The Christian Use of the Psalms,2 an interesting volume by Professor Cheyne, dealing with certain Psalms appointed in the English Prayer Book for use on certain high days, showing how they must be taken in the light of modern Criticism and Exegesis, and addressing itself in particular to the question whether the retention of the public and special use of these Psalms can be justified "from the point of view of critics who are attached members of our broad and truly Catholic National Church".

The most notable contribution to the Biblical World for February is a long and appreciative notice of the late lamented Professor A. B. Bruce of Glasgow, by Professor John E. McFadyen of Knox College, Toronto. Professors Burton and Shailer Matthews continue their valuable Constructive Studies in the Life of Christ.

In the Presbyterian and Reformed Review for the first quarter of the year we have a criticism of Professor McGiffert's Historical Methods, by Dr. William P. Dickson; an instructive and suggestive paper by Professor W. Brenton Greene of Princeton Seminary on "Academic Preparation for the Seminary"; and an important paper by Professor B. B. Warfield on "God-inspired Scripture," a learned and elaborate study of the phrase  $\gamma\rho a\phi \dot{\eta}$   $\theta\epsilon \dot{\sigma}\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau os$  (2 Tim. iii. 16), upholding the old interpretation, and refuting the explanation offered by Ewald and Cremer, which makes the term  $\theta\epsilon \dot{\sigma}\pi\nu\epsilon\nu\sigma\tau os$  define Scripture "not according to its nature, but according to its effect—not as 'inspired of God' but as inspiring its readers".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 214. Price 3s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Isbister & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 273. Price 5s.

### Record of Select Literature.

#### I.—OLD TESTAMENT.

Toy, C. H. The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel. Critical edition of the Hebrew text with notes. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Lex. 8vo, pp. 116. M.7.50.

FÜLLKRUG, G. Der Gottesknecht des Deuterojesaja. Eine kritisch-exeget. u. biblisch-theolog. Studie. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. vii. + 119. M.2.8o.

#### OLD TESTAMENT ARTICLES.

Montefiore, C. G. Nation or Religious Community? Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1900.

Schecter, Prof. S. The Hebrew Text of Ben Sira: The British Museum Fragments. *Jewish Quarterly Review*, *Jan.* 1900.

BACHER, Prof. W. The Hebrew Text of Ben Sira: Notes on the Cambridge Fragments. Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1900.

DAVIDSON, Prof. A. B. The Uses of the Old Testament for Edification. Expositor, Jan. 1900.

BERLIN, Rev. Dr. M. Notes on Genealogies of the Tribe of Levi in I Chron. xxiii.-xxvi. Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1900.

MÜLLER, Prof. D. H. Strophic Forms in Isaiah xlvii. Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1900.

CHEYNE, Prof. T. K. Canticles v. 13 and vii. 1. Jewish Quarterly Review, Jan. 1900.

PRÁSĚK, Prof. J. V. On the question of the Exodus. Expository Times, Feb., March 1900.

KÖNIG, Prof. Ed. The External Evidence for the Cairene Sirach. Expository Times, Feb. 1900.

NESTLE, Prof. Eb. The "Son of Man" in the Old Testament. Expository Times, Feb. 1900.

Moulton, Rev. J. H. The Iranian Background of Tobit. Expository Times, March 1900.

## II.—New Testament Articles.

- BLASS. Zu den zwei Texten der Apostelgeschichte. Theol. Stud. u. Krit. Jahrg., I., 1900.
- CROSS, Rev. John A. Note on Acts ix. 19-25. Expositor, Jan. 1900.
- Scott, Rev. C. A. Ministering in Sacrifice (Rom. xv. 16). Expositor, Feb. 1900.
- Schulze, H. Die Unterlagen für die Abschiedsrede zu Milet in Apostelg. Theol. Stud. u. Krit. Jahrg., I., 1900.
- RAMSAY, Prof. W. M. Historical Commentary on the Epistles to the Corinthians. Expositor, Jan., Feb., March 1900.

### III.—HISTORICAL.

- THE SYRIAC CHRONICLE, known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene. Trans. by P. J. Hamilton. London: Methuen. 8vo, 12s. 6d.
- KAMPSCHULTE, F. W. Johann Calvin, seine Kirche u. sein, Staat in Genf. 2. Bd. Nach dem Tode des Verf. hrsg. v. W. Goetz. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot. 8vo. pp. ix. + 401. M.8.
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OF THE

# LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

WITH

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

FOR THE

# HISTORY OF THE ISRAELITES

AND OTHER AIDS TO THE

# EXPLANATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY

### E. KAUTZSCH,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE,

REPRINTED FROM THE "SUPPLEMENTS" TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT EDITED BY THE AUTHOR,

TRANSLATED BY JOHN TAYLOR, D.LIT., M.A.

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## A Short History of the Church in Great Britain.

By the Rev. W. H. Hutton, B.D., Fellow and Tutor of S. John's College, Oxford. Rivingtons. Pp. xi. + 300. Price 4s. 6d.

Mr. Hutton's subject is restricted to "the story of the Church of England, . . . and the story of the Church in Scotland in communion therewith". His book is entitled A Short History of the Church in Great Britain. The reader is thus fully prepared to find in the History a distinctly ex parte statement, but without anything distinctly offensive to the "other religious bodies both in England and Scotland," which, Mr. Hutton assures us, he has no desire to disparage. It may be well to say, at the outset, that, although we shall have to make some criticisms upon Mr. Hutton's treatment of the "bodies," we wish unreservedly to accept his assurance. Mr Hutton is well known as a learned historian who has adopted strongly defined views and has not hesitated to state them, but who has by graciousness of personality and charm of style, said unpleasant things so pleasantly that the sting is scarcely felt.

The book will appeal very strongly to the modern Anglican Catholic. The style is lucid and simple; as a party pamphlet, it is singularly attractive. Mr. Hutton knows how far modern research has modified the earlier position of his party, and he rarely commits himself to an exploded view, while he, nevertheless, contrives to adapt the new data to the old conclusion. There are, however, one or two passages which we find it difficult to understand. On p. 72, Mr. Hutton adopts Professor Maitland's explanation of the real differences that existed between Becket and Henry II.—the king's claim that a guilty clerk should receive "a civil punishment besides the ecclesiastical one which the Church court might have thought fit to inflict". If Professor Maitland

is right, as this sentence implies and as has been generally admitted, then Henry II. did not make any such revolutionary claim as that of lay jurisdiction over criminal clerks. The guilty person was, ex hypothesi, no longer a clerk, for he had been degraded, and the king made no attempt to interfere with the court of the Church. Yet Mr. Hutton proceeds to incorporate with this new explanation, the older and conflicting theory. "No less strongly did he [Becket] assert that the Church alone had the right to judge all clerical offenders". Doubtless, Becket would have asserted such a right, had it ever been questioned, but where is the evidence that it ever was denied? When we come to the Reformation, it is natural to look with some interest for Mr. Hutton's doctrine of continuity; but it is somewhat startling to find so bold a statement as this: "They [the Tudors] could not have stopped a reformation, for the bishops (such as Morton and Warham, Fox, and Wolsey) were determined to reform. They could not have prevented a separation, at least to a very considerable extent, from Rome, for the laity were determined to restrict the Pope's powers, and the clergy chafed under the intolerable financial burden he laid on them, and resented the constant appointment of foreigners, who never intended to be resident, to English benefices." Is there any period, between the Conquest and the Reformation, when the State was not attempting to curb the Church or when there were not numberless complaints about Papal taxation and Papal "provisions"? Were Morton and Warham and Fox and Wolsey the first English bishops who were "determined to reform"? Was the English Church in a chronic condition of pre-Reformation? Surely, Mr. Hutton's argument is singularly feeble for the task of proving that the English Church was not Roman down to the reign of Elizabeth and that Henry VIII. was the assertor of a national feeling. "A Reformation in England was absolutely certain, though few Englishmen and no foreigners foresaw it." It is proverbially easy to be wise after the event, and yet how few are the historians who see it even now! Once more, (for we cannot keep the "bodies" waiting), Mr. Hutton, in dealing with the Elizabethan settlement does not give any hint that all the bishops who were present voted against the Act of Uniformity or that the Lower House of the Convocation of the Province of Canterbury left on record decisions which were unquestionably Papalist.

The most important of Mr. Hutton's "bodies" is probably that which is known to the law (though not to Mr. Hutton) as the Church of Scotland. In dealing with the Scottish Church from the Reformation to the Revolution, Mr. Hutton's Episcopalian sympathies have led him into making what we cannot but regard as serious misrepresentations. But, before proceeding to these, we may point out a few slips of minor importance in the Scottish sections of the book. The points are usually of slight interest, but it is well to be precise even in small matters, and to mention a few errata may be useful for Mr. Hutton's next edition. The University of St. Andrews was founded in 1413, and not between 1424 and 1437 (p. 111), nor do we see why the usual regnal dates should not have been given for James I. It is somewhat confusing to give two different dates for the foundation of the University of Aberdeen (pp. 128, 130), even although both might conceivably be defended. After the death of Archbishop James Stewart in 1502-3, the See of St. Andrews was not vacant for six years (p. 130), but only till 1505; and the new Archbishop was not sixteen years of age, but only about twelve (Exchequer Rolls, xii and xiii; Peerage of Scotland, i., 51, 52). King James V. died on December 14th, not on December 13th (p. 163); Cardinal Beaton did not "succeed" his uncle in 1538 (p. 163); he was only appointed coadjutor in that year. Mr. Hutton refers familiarly to Knox as " John" on p. 167, but he fails to make it quite clear that the Reformer had no share in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. It is by no means certain that Hamilton's Catechism "was the work of Archbishop Hamilton himself" (p. 168); it was only published under his auspices. Mary, Queen of Scots was married to Darnley on July 28th, not "in the spring" of 1565 (p. 171). Mr. Hutton allows an interval of only one day, instead of a month, between Mary's marriage with Bothwell and her imprisonment in Lochleven Castle (p. 172), and gives the date of her execution as February 18th, instead of February 8th, 1587. We scarcely think that Mr. Hutton has given the British Solomon sufficient credit as one of the first Anglican Catholics, but when he tells us, on p. 197, that "in 1599, James published his Basilikon Doron, in which he expressed his opinion candidly" of the Presbyterian clergy, we are compelled to remind him that the candour was restricted to seven copies, privately printed, and carefully concealed. These, of course, are all small points; but they might as well be correctly stated.

Mr. Hutton is anxious to be fair to his opponents, and he avoids making any positive remark calculated to offend their But his sins of omission are such that susceptibilities. certain sections of his book go to show how far ecclesiastical prejudice may carry even a writer who desires to be just. The Scottish Reformation is thus described: "Holy orders were replaced by a 'call' from a congregation and admission to office by the neighbouring minister. The laying on of hands was declared unnecessary". The statement about the laying on of hands is strictly true, and yet nothing could be more misleading. It is undeniable that Knox, in the First Book of Discipline, declared the laying on of hands not to be necessary. But the First Book of Discipline was a purely tentative piece of work, compiled by Knox in a very short It was never properly ratified, and it underwent constant change. The Second Book of Discipline, published in 1581, says that: "The Ceremonies of Ordination are Fasting, earnest Prayer, and Imposition of Hands of the Eldership," and, in point of fact, the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery has always been an integral part of the ceremony of Ordination. This, certainly, is not the impression which Mr. Hutton's words are fitted to produce.

In dealing with the events of the reign of Charles I., Mr. Hutton speaks somewhat loosely of the real cause of the trouble. "When he [Charles] came to Scotland in 1633, his fixed intention was to introduce a service-book." A service-book (the Book of Common Order) was one of the

standards of the Church; and the Scots did not object to a service-book, but to this particular service-book. Mr. Hutton adds: "that it might not seem to have been dictated from England, it was in many points taken more directly from the early liturgies, and 'more agreeable to the use in the primitive Church';" but he does not point out how the real force of the Scottish objection to Laud's book lay in just these alterations. The most notable of them was the omission of the words "Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee . . . thanksgiving "from the Communion Service, which seemed indicative of a tendency Rome-wards. Mr. Hutton's method of stating the facts obscures the real issue and fails to appreciate the continuity of Scottish Church policy since the Reformation. This misunderstanding is confirmed by the statement that "A National Covenant was drawn up by the nobles and was offered to the people for signature . . . on February 28th, 1638". In point of fact, the Covenant was "drawn up" in the preceding century and all that was done in 1638 was to re-affirm the Reformation covenant and to add a postscript.

There are two further statements to which we must take exception. "The battle of Bothwell Brig, 1679, in which the Covenanters were defeated, was followed by an attempt to pacify the Dissenters by an Indemnity Act." The statement is quite correct; but could it be better devised for the misrepresentation of the facts? The battle of Bothwell Bridge was followed by only two executions (exclusive of the five who were put to death because the Government could not discover the actual assassins of Archbishop Sharpe). But it was followed by an imprisonment of twelve hundred captives in Grevfriars Churchyard, in circumstances of hideous cruelty; by the sale of the greater portion of them as slaves for the plantations; by the executions of Cargill and Hackston of Rathillet (the latter accompanied by revolting torture). It was followed by the administration of the Duke of York, with its methods of thumbscrew and rack, by the expeditions of Claverhouse, and by such examples of indemnity as the case of the Wigtown Martyrs. Is it fair to pass over the history

of Scotland from 1679 to 1688 with the pleasant reflection that the Government passed an Indemnity Act? Once more, Mr. Hutton says of the Revolution Settlement in Scotland: "In July, 1689, Episcopacy was disestablished, mainly, it would seem, because the bishops and many of the clergy refused to take the oaths to the new Government" (p. 222). "It would seem" also that, in April, 1689, the Scottish Estates offered the Crown of Scotland to William and Mary on condition that "Prelacy is a great and insupportable grievance, and ought to be abolished". Mr. Hutton's statement can scarcely be accepted seeing that "the new Government" existed only on condition of the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church.

We have felt bound to discuss Mr. Hutton's book from a point of view very far removed from his own, and to draw attention to some statements, the precise effect of which he cannot have suspected. But the fact that there are two sides to some questions and that Mr. Hutton has, unwittingly, done scanty justice to the side that is not his own, need not blind us to the merits of his book. Mr. Hutton is never dull. and like all that he has written, this Short History is pleasant reading; it has a due sense of proportion where controversy has not distorted the relative importance of fact; and it is only due to Mr. Hutton to say that the slight slips in dates which we have pointed out in his treatment of Scottish affairs are not characteristic of the rest of the book. For those who look at religious questions from Mr. Hutton's standpoint, the book is admirable; it is the presence, throughout, of the sentiment pro ara et focis that renders it less useful to the world at large.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

## A System of Ethics.

By Friedrich Paulsen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin. Edited and Translated with the Author's sanction from the fourth revised and enlarged Edition, by Frank Thilly, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Missouri. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 8vo, pp. xviii. + 723. Price 18s. net.

Geschichte der neueren deutschen Philosophie seit Hegel. Ein Handbuch zur Einführung in das philosophische Studium der neuesten Zeit.

Von Dr. Phil. Otto Siebert. Göttingen: Vandenhæck und Ruprecht. London: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. vii. + 496. Price M. 7.

ONE cannot help making a remark on the unusual excellence of the translation. It is one of the best we have ever seen. It does justice to the vigour and subtlety of the thought of the original, and expresses that thought in pure and fluent English. It reads as if it were written in English, and bears few marks of a translation. It has been a labour of love on the part of Professor Thilly, but no amount of labour could have achieved this result if he had not a competent knowledge of philosophy, and of the two languages with which he had to deal. So much we felt constrained to say; for a satisfaction of this kind we experience so seldom that we must make a note of it.

The book itself deserved to be brought before the English reader in the way it has been done by Professor Thilly. It is in every way a noteworthy book. The author has had in view, not the expert or the professional philosopher, but the educated layman who may take an interest in the moral life of himself and others, and desires to know something of its

nature and its working. The book deals with the questions which are moving our age. In the preface to the second German edition he says: "I have been unwilling to ignore the questions which are moving our age; the books that have nothing to say to their times, and therefore fill their pages with untimely logical quibbles, or with endless historicalcritical discussions, are plentiful enough as it is, and there has thus far never been a lack of tiresome books in Germany. There are books which are timeless because they are written for all times; but there are also timeless books which are written for no time. This book does not belong to the first class nor would it like to belong to the second" (Preface, pp. 9-10). His aim is to bring the old truth into living touch with the questions which preoccupy our age, and he has succeeded in his aim. It is a book full of living interest; there is not a dull page in it, and he has been able to write in a style which can be understood by the man in the street.

After an introduction which sets forth the nature and function of ethics, he deals in the first book with the history of his science. It is really an outline of the history of ethical conceptions from the beginning of Greek thought, on through the Middle Ages and down to Schopenhauer. The second book deals with the fundamental concepts and questions of principles of ethics. The third book contains the detailed exposition of the doctrine of virtues and duties. We rather regret that the fourth book, which deals with the theory of the state and society, is not included in the present translation. We hope that it may yet be brought within the reach of the English reader. It is needed for the completeness of the discussion, and would be helpful to the student of social philosophy. Perhaps the translator may yet publish this part of the treatise in a separate form. The publication would be a great boon to the student.

It is such a rich and fruitful book that we are at a loss on what parts we are to lay stress. We are tempted to linger over the historical part in which the author traces the history of the evolution of ethical ideas. It is a masterly piece of work. We hardly know anything of equal value, certainly not within the same space. He begins with a statement of the popular Greek ideal of a perfect life, which is set forth with admirable clearness and justified with ample reference to the relevant literature. Then Greek moral philosophy is shown to be the analysis and conceptual formulation of the popular Greek ideal of a perfect life. Moral philosophy is thus based on experience, and is shown to be deeply rooted in the life of the people. The real scientific treatment of moral philosophy dates from Socrates. He saw the problem, stated it, and saw the necessity of a science of right conduct and right government; but he could only state the problem and did not solve it. The successive attempts at a solution made by Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics and the Epicureans are graphically described, and this section ends with a description of the common characteristics of Greek ethics. We quote a paragraph: "Summarising the main features of Greek ethics we may say: it agrees with the popular Greek view that the highest good consists in the perfection of man as a natural being. Special stress is laid upon the development of the intellectual side. Even the popular conception recognises the great importance of the intellect for human perfection. The philosophers, the specific types of the Greek people, as the prophets are of the Israelites, go still farther, and make reason the root and crown of all human excellence. For them wisdom or philosophy is both the means and the content of eudaemonia—the former, in so far as it acquaints us with the highest good and regulates practical life to the end of realising it; the latter, in so far as philosophy, or the scientific contemplation of the universe, is the highest, freest function of human nature, one that is desired solely for its own sake. It is said that Anaxagoras, being once asked for what end he had been born, answered: 'For the contemplation of the sun and moon and heaven, and the order governing the entire universe'. This is really the answer which the entire Greek philosophy and the Greek mind in general gives to the question" (pp. 58-59).

Having summarised the Greek view of ethics, the Christian conception is set forth. We do not think that the Christian

view of life is set forth in an adequate way. True, the author says: "My main purpose here was to contrast it sharply with the Greek conception of life and morality, and hence I first considered Christianity from its negative side, the side which distinguishes it as something entirely new in the world" (Note, p. 66). This note was written in answer to a criticism that he had represented Christianity as a weak, meek, world-weary, down-trodden, ascetic affair. He says that he did not mean to make this impression. But the impression was made notwithstanding. Even with the note of explanation the impression remains, and must remain so long as Christian ethics is described in mere contrast to Greek ethics. Professor Paulsen lays stress on the supernaturalism of Christianity, its contempt for learning, for the natural virtues, and describes its relation to the State, to enjoyment and art, to wealth and honour mainly in a negative way, and lays little stress on the peace, the joy, the purity of Christianity. We cannot but consider this a defect in his treatment of such a great theme. For Christianity is positive in its view of life, and of the conduct that springs out of Christian life.

The chapter which tells of the conversion of the world to Christianity is more satisfactory. But even here there are some explanations which we take leave to doubt. "Perhaps the conversion of the Greek and Roman world to Christianity also admits of a further explanation. We may regard the conversion of a people to a religion of redemption as the final stage in the development of its entire spiritual life. I venture to suggest this view, for a knowledge of the laws of the evolution of a popular life similar to that which we have of the development of an individual life is, of course, utterly out of the question. Let us say, then, that the religion of redemption is the product of a nation's senility: it produces mythology and the tales of heroes in its youth, philosophy and science in its manhood, a philosophy of consolation and a religion of redemption in its old age. We might compare the stages of development in the world of ideas with parallel stages of development in the practical world: youth yearns for action in the chase and war; manhood turns to work and acquisition; old age lays aside its tasks and feeds on the products of its former achievements; it yearns for rest. and withdraws from the present; it lives in the memory of the past and in the thought of the hereafter. The new religion, therefore, offers itself as a substitute for poetry and science, for work and conflict, hopefully transfiguring the evening of life as with a soft twilight" (pp. 114-115). This poetic statement assumes many things. It assumes that the Greek and Roman world was in a state of senility, and it forgets the conversion of the Teutonic peoples. It assumes that in a religion of redemption there is no scope for the adventurous spirit of youth, nor for the acquisitive tendency of manhood; it has no message save that of rest for the weary. Now we submit that all these assumptions are contrary to fact and are utterly subverted by history. On the contrary, we may say that the higher the ideal of any man, the stronger his character, and the wider his view of the possibility and the responsibility of life, the deeper will be his feeling of the need of a religion of redemption. We have not space to argue the question—we simply state it.

The historical part deals further with the Middle Ages and their conception of life, with the modern conception of life, and with mediæval and modern Moral Philosophy. In this last chapter we find a brief and luminous account of many writers and their systems; the only defective part in it is the

treatment given to Hegel and his school,

When we remember that a great part of recent ethical work in our own country and in America has been done under the influence of Hegel, a paragraph like the following strikes us as curious. "Take Hegel's Naturrecht and its empty juggling with concepts: the investigation of institutions and forms from the standpoint of their effects upon human life is ridiculed as a shallow argumentation of the understanding; instead, the reader receives the simple assurance: it follows from the concept of the state, or of the right, or of the monarchy. And with this is connected the extreme reverence which these thinkers have for the forms of

historical life, for the state, for the right: as though these forms, and not the concrete life which thrives in them, were the thing of absolute worth!" (p. 205). This is certainly not a sufficient account of the work of Hegel and his school. When Hegel remarks that the maxim of abstract right is: "Be a person and respect others as persons," he is not merely stating an abstract maxim. He is laying stress on the obligation to fulfil in one's own person all that is implied in the idea of personality. Only he who discharges the duties of personality has any rights at all. The charge made against Hegel in the foregoing quotation cannot be made good against him, and certainly cannot be made good against his followers here and in America.

It is time, however, to look at the theory of ethics set forth in this volume. The function of ethics set forth here is a practical one. "Ethics bears the same relation to general anthropology as medicine to physical anthropology. Based on the knowledge of corporeal nature, medicine instructs us to solve the problems of corporeal life, to the end that the body may perform all its functions in a healthy manner during its natural existence; while ethics, basing itself on the knowledge of human nature in general, especially of its spiritual and social side, aims to solve all the problems of life so that it may reach its fullest, most beautiful, and most perfect development. We might therefore call ethics universal dietetics, to which medicine and all the other technologies, like pedagogy, politics, etc., are related as special parts, or as auxiliary sciences" (p. 2). The highest good, according to our author, is a perfect life, that is, a life leading to the complete development of the bodily and mental powers and to their full exercise in all the spheres of human existence, in close communion with other closely-related persons, and fully participating in the historical and spiritual life of society at large. Good is not to be identified with pleasure, for the feeling is not the good, but the form in which the good is known and enjoyed by the subject. Thus he distinguishes his view from the utilitarian view.

How is the highest good to be realised? "The doctrine

of duties describes in general formulæ how we must conduct ourselves in order successfully to solve the problems of life, that is, attain to perfection. The doctrine of duties sets forth how we must fashion the character or the will in order to realise that goal: it makes clear to us that prudence, courage, veracity, justice are qualities which enable us correctly to solve the problems of life; while their opposites, thoughtlessness, cowardice and pleasure-seeking, inconsiderate selfishness and base mendacity hinder the realisation of the perfect life" (p. 5).

All this is very true and very beautiful, and the detailed working out of it in the lengthened exposition of goods, duties and virtues is most instructive. But one desiderates a fuller discussion of ethical principles, and one sometimes feels that the way in which human nature is shut up into compartments is a little drastic and absolute. For instance, when we read that "The intellect as such knows absolutely nothing of values, it distinguishes between the true and false, the real and unreal, but not between the good and the bad," we are ready to ask how we can know without the exercise of the intellect, and how the will can be said to know? In his zeal for practice, the author seems to forget the need of principle. And sometimes the intellect and the will are taken in abstraction and are spoken of as if each could work by itself.

What does the author make of obligation? Briefly his account is: "in order to reach such and such a goal, such and such behaviour is necessary". We have searched the book for an account of moral obligation and can find nothing deeper than the maxim—if you desire the end you must use the means. There is no doubt that the word obligation often has this meaning, but is this its only meaning? It seems as if Professor Paulsen recognises no other meaning. But this meaning of moral necessity is only hypothetical. We may forego the ends and the necessity vanishes. If I desire to be a physician, it is necessary for me to submit to the necessary training and win the needed diploma. But I may avoid the necessity of such a training by ceasing to wish to be a doctor.

I may escape the obligation by declining the ends themselves. If there is an end we are not at liberty to forego, some good we are bound to seek, a law we may never transgress, we have no longer a hypothetical necessity, but a categorical and absolute necessity. The end is unconditional, and thus the use of means becomes unconditional also. It seems also that our author does not lay stress on the fiduciary aspect of life, and without the recognition of this aspect a full and adequate account of moral obligation can never be given. We are not our own, we cannot live to please ourselves, even to live a perfect life will not from this point of view exhaust our moral obligation. The use of life is a trust which we must account for to the satisfaction of Another, and this is also the key to the demand for a religion of redemption. But the question is too large for discussion here.

We have perhaps laid too much stress on points of difference. Certainly we have not given adequate expression to the admiration we have for the author and his book. He has made the discussion interesting to the highest degree. He has written a book intelligible to the man in the street. He has invested the whole subject with such abiding interest that the reader cannot stop till he has read it through. Difficult questions have become luminous in his hands, and the most commonplace topics are seen in a new light, and are recognised to be fraught with the deepest issues. While we differ in some degree from the method and results of the author, we gladly recognise that a more fruitful and stimulating book on ethics has not come within our hands. We trust it will be widely read, and that the reading of it will not be confined to the professional student. It discusses topics in which all men have an interest, and it discusses them in such a way as all men can understand.

A history of the main movements of German philosophic thought since Hegel was a great desideratum, and it is now supplied by Dr. Siebert. The mere literature is so great, the various movements and reactions of system on system are

so intricate that the service of a competent guide is indispensable. We do not read far in the volume till we find that we are led by a man who knows the ground and can show us how one system leads on to another, and the various movements of German philosophy are not without a meaning and connection. As told by Dr. Siebert, it is a story of dramatic interest and of great spiritual and intellectual activity.

The author begins with a luminous account of the history of philosophy from Kant to Hegel. Then another account follows of the philosophic movements from Hegel onwards to the present time. These two accounts are preliminary to the detailed statement which follows. It helps a student wonderfully to have a brief yet lucid statement of the general movement, before he is called on to master a detailed analysis of the various systems which are to be brought under review. A full statement is given of the character and tendency of the different schools of recent German philosophy. The school of Hegel comes first, as is natural, when we consider the influence, positive and negative, which it wielded. So wide was the influence of Hegel that no one set of his followers was able to use the whole system of the master. The description of how it broke up into three sects and became inevitably a right, a left, and a centre party is set forth in quite a dramatic manner. We refer readers to the book, and shall not even enumerate the names and the systems patiently and sufficiently described in these pages. The school of speculative theism is next described, some of the works of which school have not been without influence on ourselves. The schools of Herbart and of Schleiermacher next occupy our attention; their systems, their character, their outlook and their relation to Hegel are set forth in a most luminous manner. Fries, Baader, Beneke, Schopenhauer, Trendelenburg are passed under review, their systems estimated, their influence measured, and what they have contributed to thought appraised. This section of the history ends with a description of the reappearance of Thomism and of the attempt to rehabilitate other ancient philosophies.

Speculative tendencies did not reign unopposed in German thought. There were reactions against them, and these were of various kinds. There was a recrudescence of materialism, and the various forms which this reaction took are set forth. Then the influence of the progress of the positive sciences has to be measured and characterised. This is sufficiently done, and then positivism has its turn. This section does not take up so much space as was occupied by the former section, mainly because it is not so important in itself, but the account given of these reactions is of the highest value.

The third section of the history contains a luminous account of the movement which has for its watchword "Back to Kant". Neo-Kantianism has for us a special interest, for it has stimulated the philosophic activity of our own country in no ordinary degree. A part of the third section is given to a description of the tendencies which can be traced towards the building of a new system which shall conserve the gain of the past and lead the philosophic mind into fresh fields and pastures new. Dr. Siebert is hopeful of the future of German philosophy. The book ends with a retrospective and prospective outlook. The author is proud of the achievements of his country in the field of philosophy, and not without reason. Their work has been great, and the full significance of it had not been grasped by us till we read this book. It is a book full of interest, and to read it is most instructive. It is of value to theologians also. It is of great interest to find Strauss, Baur, Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Hermann, Biedermann (we take the names in no fixed order), names we were wont to find in our theological reading, lifted out of the theological setting, placed in a philosophic framework, and their work tested from a new point of view. Philosophy helps the theologian, and theological thought in its nature and sequence cannot be adequately measured by one who neglects philosophy. No movement of the human mind is isolated, and the philosophic problems of an age are also its theological problems. We attach the highest value to this excellent history.

JAMES IVERACH.

A Textual Commentary upon the Holy Gospels, largely from the use of materials, and mainly on the text, left by the late J. W. Burgon, B.D.

By Edward Miller, M.A. Part I. St. Matthew i-xiv. Bell & Sons.  $8\frac{1}{2} + 5\frac{1}{2}$  ins. Pp. xxiv. + 118. Price 5s.

AMONGST the many opponents of the late Dean of Chichester an opinion has prevailed that John William Burgon was a mere combatant. Certainly in wielding his pen, as an Anglican theologian, against what he regarded as unorthodox views in Biblical criticism and exegesis, he dealt shattering blows at opposing strongholds; but his work on the last twelve verses of St. Mark showed that his wish was to build up, as well as pull down; for his argument there is not a simple refutation of objections, but rests on the history of the text. His personal friends knew that in the days of his controversies with the Revisers of the Authorised Version, he was hard at work constructing his own Revised Greek Text. Death stayed the hand that would have presented the new Text to the world, supported by the enthusiasm of an inimitable advocacy; but a sympathising editor has been found in Prebendary Miller, who offers to scholars, in a small volume, the first fruits of a great undertaking. The 118 pages are filled to overflowing with references to MSS. and Fathers in support of the readings adopted, or in justification of the rejection of the readings of other editors. Patristic citations constitute a mass of evidence, such as has never before been presented to students of the sacred Text. Well may the editor exclaim (p. xxiv.): "I despair of accomplishing all my task if the means do not come of securing assistance both in the clerical part and in examination of the references supplied by the prolific indexes compiled by Dean Burgon!" We note with satisfaction, in the list of subscribers, the names of many who do not accept the views of Dean Burgon and Prebendary Miller, and we trust that love of truth will result in such support to the editor's labours that his monumental work may be carried out to

completion.

The writer of the present review heard a distinguished Oxford tutor assert, on a recent occasion, that Dean Burgon believed in the inspiration of every word of the Bible, and regarded the Textus Receptus of the Greek Testament as faultless. The former statement was an exaggeration of the Dean's high regard for the authority of the Word of God; the latter finds its contradiction in the pages of Mr. Miller's volume. Although only fourteen chapters of one Gospel are treated, several instances occur of departure from the Textus Receptus. In some cases the Dean agrees with other editors in changing the text, in others he prefers an independent reading, with the support of the majority of the witnesses. He is never a slave to the Textus Receptus. If he is often on its side, it is because that form of Text sides, for the most part, with those authorities which, in his judgment, were the most faithful witnesses to the true Text. In illustration we may refer to Matt. iv. 10. There Recept. Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers read only "Traye, Get thee hence, but Burgon, with the support of many MSS. and Fathers, some Latin MSS. and the Curetonian, adds οπίσω μου, behind me. In verse 18 of the same chapter *Iesus*, which is inserted by the Receptus, with slight support, is omitted by Burgon, with Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers. In Matt. v. 28, there are three readings: (1) ἐπιθ, αὐτήν, Burgon, with considerable support of MSS. and Fathers; (2) ἐπ. αὐτῆς, Recept. Revisers, also well supported; (3) om. the pronoun, Tisch. W.-Hort (brackets), with w and many Fathers. At verse 23 we find the comparatively trivial variation of κάκει for και ἐκεί. The former is the reading of Recept. Tisch. W.-Hort. Revisers, the latter of Burgon: but Mr. Miller considers that there is no need to alter the received reading. The case is interesting as showing the care which has been devoted to even the minutiæ of the text. At the end of vi. 18 Recept. adds έν τω φανερώ,

openly, but Burgon omits, with Tisch. W.-Hort Revisers. On these departures from the Textus Receptus the editor says: "Burgon and myself present results which are printed in spaced type, and are accounted for in the notes. We present them upon a position in some degree analogous to a Court of First Instance, pending appeal to the superior judgments of Universal Christendom."

Mr. Miller starts with the results reached by Tischendorf in his eighth edition of 1860, but he advances far beyond the position reached thirty years ago. The Apparatus Criticus is largely augmented, while the evidence of the Fathers is presented with an exuberance of citation to be found in no other edition of the Greek Testament. Another advantage is the luminous arrangement of the Greek Text and the editorial notes, by which the study of a passage is greatly facilitated. The evidence for or against a reading appears to be stated with the utmost fairness in every case, and is given in such abundance of detail, that the scholar can always form his own independent opinion, and is not hampered by the views of the editor. Mr. Miller's book contains facts connected with the transmission of the text of the Greek New Testament which no other book provides in such fulness. It will be indispensable for every student of New Testament Criticism.

G. H. GWILLIAM.

### Philosophy of Theism.

(The Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Edinburgh in 1894-96.)

By Alexander Campbell Fraser, LL.D., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford. Second edition, amended. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Post 8vo, pp. xviii. + 338. Price 6s. 6d. net.

We have already noticed in the pages of this review (vol. vi., p. 167; vol. vii., p. 195) the first edition of these admirable lectures. As the present edition, though revised and very considerably altered in point of form, is still substantially the same book, there is no need to repeat here the résumé of the argument and the estimate of the general result which were there given. It may be said, however, in general terms that Professor Fraser's statement of the theistic position (and his coincident refutation of positions antagonistic to or inconsistent with theism) still strikes us as one of the sanest and most persuasive with which we are acquainted—all the more persuasive because it does not aim at too much, and appeals to enlightened common sense and the moral reason rather than to metaphysical subtleties.

The new edition, as we have just remarked, differs very considerably in point of form from its predecessor. An immense amount of labour, only to be appreciated by a minute comparison of the two, has been expended upon its revision. The result may be expressed by saying that Professor Fraser now presents us with a text book of the subject instead of a report of his lectures as they were delivered. We are not sure that for the general reader and the thoughtful inquirer, for whom these lectures are especially well suited, the first edition, with its more open print and superior paper,

and in spite of—even, we might say, because of—the redundancies and expansions which were inseparable from the exigencies of oral delivery, will not still prove the better and favourite form. Such readers require explanation and recapitulation, but the new edition makes it possible to use the lectures in the class-room as well as in the study.

The main object of the author has been condensation, and his alterations have been made so as to achieve this condensation without the sacrifice of clearness. There is scarcely a paragraph or a sentence which does not betray the reviser's hand, and those who know the difficulty of the operation, especially when applied to one's own MS., will best understand the courage as well as patience which has been brought to the task. Most often the process has been one of excision; here and there are instances of addition; but almost everywhere alterations have been made in what is left to make the excisions possible.

The work has been reduced from two volumes to one, with a corresponding reduction in price—itself, from the student's point of view, no mean advantage. The earlier division of the lectures into two parts, necessitated by their delivery in successive sessions, not coinciding with the natural distribution of the subject, is in the new edition replaced by a division into three parts: (1) Untheistic Speculation and Final Scepticism; (2) Final Reason in Theistic Faith; and (3) The Great Enigma of Theistic Faith. These are preceded by two lectures of an introductory character, and the whole is closed by a retrospect, or summary of the argument. The titles of many of the lectures, particularly in the second part, have been changed. Thus for "Man Supernatural," we have "Ideal Man an Image of God"; for "Moral Foundation of Theism" we have "Perfect Goodness Personified"; for "Causation Theistically Interpreted" we have "Omnipotent Goodness". It may be questioned whether some of the alterations are really improvements. The same remark applies to many of the changes of expression in the body of the book; e.g., the substitution of "the mystery of ultimately incognisable yet revealed Deity is the nourishment

of religious adoration" (new ed., p. 160) for "the mystery of an unknown and yet known God is the fountain of true reverential devotion" (1st ed., vol. i., p. 288); but there can be no question that the majority of them have been carefully considered and judiciously adopted having regard to the end in view. The dropping of whole sentences is a frequent phenomenon; quotations are omitted and abbreviated; and, we are glad to see, references to Lord Gifford's will and intentions (not perhaps the same thing) are occasionally and properly passed over.

Altogether we can congratulate Professor Fraser on having done a very great deal to secure for his Gifford lectures a permanent place in the literature of the subject with which

he has so ably dealt.

ALEXANDER STEWART.

#### Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.

Lieferung 9. Deuteronomium erklärt von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Ausserord. Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B., Leipzig & Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. xxx. + 119. Price M.2.50.

#### Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament.

1. Abtheilung, Die historischen Bücher, 3. Band, 2. Theil. Das Buch Josua übersetzt und erklärt von Lic. Dr. Carl Steuernagel, Privatdozent d. Theol. in Halle a/S. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. Crown 8vo, pp. 131-248. Price M.2.20.

In a well-written Introduction, Bertholet treats first, briefly, of the name, and secondly, at considerable length, of the origin of Deuteronomy. Assuming that the traditional view is erroneous, he discusses "the historical conditions under which it [i.e. 'original Deuteronomy'] originated," holding that it proceeded out of prophetic circles, being indeed a crystallisation of prophetic thoughts. As sources from which they drew their material, the authors of this new legislation not only used the prophets, but also the older Decalogue in Exod. xxxiv. and the Book of the Covenant, Exod. xxi.-xxiii. 16; seeing that chap. v. is not an original part of Deut., their use of the younger Decalogue, Exod. xx., must remain an open question. The manner in which these sources were used was conditioned by the purpose which the new law was meant to serve. A people was to be created holy enough to escape the impending judgment. people, however, could be created, only if its religious life, so far as it was capable of external control, was placed under

constant oversight. This demanded the centralisation of worship in Jerusalem, which necessarily led to the ignoring or modification of earlier laws, and the making of new ones. Deuteronomy in its original form is the result of all this labour spent on the law. It was composed by an anonymous author, who cannot justly be accused of a pious fraud, shortly before its discovery in the temple (B.C. 623) This original form embraced not only chaps, xii.-xxvi. (with a few interpolations), but also xxvii. of. xxviii. 1-25, 38-46, xxx. 15-20, and the introductory discourse, chaps. vi.-xi. (with a few interpolations), written later than, and with constant reference to, chaps. xii.-xxvi. Chap. iv. 45-v. is the beginning of an independent edition of the Deuteronomic law; this edition contained xii. 1-7, and possibly also xxviii. 69-xxix.; the author is probably exilic. The introductory discourse, chaps. i-iv. (with many interpolations), is also by the author of a separate edition of the law; to him belong also xii. 8-12, several additions within the concluding discourses, and perhaps ix. 7b-x. 5, 8f., which very probably stood originally before i. 6. This latter author (D2) seems to have known J E, as united together into one work; it is by no means improbable that he also knew E as a separate document; but he was unacquainted with P. He lived about the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The remaining portions of our present Book of Deuteronomy were drawn from several sources, some of them late-exilic and even post-exilic. The final editor probably belonged to the fifth century.

A section on the language and style of Deuteronomy is followed by one on its theological and religious significance, in which the current view is clearly expounded. The commentary, though without anything specially distinctive, is thoroughly satisfactory. At the head of each section of the Book there is an analysis of the sources, and due attention is paid to the more important religious ideas. Too little notice is taken of grammatical difficulties; more frequent reference to Gesenius-Kautzsch would have greatly enhanced the value of the book, without appreciably increasing its size. Bertholet is well acquainted with the literature of his sub-

ject; he has carefully selected his material, and has spared no pains to produce an easily read and very instructive work.

Steuernagel's Josua, which is a continuation of his commentary on Deuteronomy, is from beginning to end an excellent bit of work. In an Introduction of twenty-two pages he treats of the connection of Joshua with the Pentateuch; the sources of which it is composed; the character of these sources and their combination into the present book; also of the value of the book as an historical source. He maintains that the Book of Joshua, at least in c. 1-xii., is essentially the work of a Deuteronomic author, D2, who is not merely the editor and expander of J E; he follows E rather than I in the account that he gives of the history; but is nevertheless, as numerous deviations in details show, an independent writer. In c. xiiiff. the description of the territories assigned to the various tribes is drawn almost entirely from P; but P's matter is rearranged so as to fit into the framework of D2. The present Book of Joshua is accordingly the book composed by D2, enlarged by R through additions from other sources.

The commentary is a good example of condensation combined with fulness and lucidity. The different sections of the Book are carefully analysed into their sources; no grammatical difficulty is overlooked; textual matters are carefully attended to, the Sept. being generally preferred; and the geographical notes, though necessarily brief, are adequate for all ordinary purposes. An excellent translation, by means of type of different size and shape, etc., makes it more easy to follow the frequently difficult analysis of the sources, and to form a judgment for oneself.

D. EATON.

### Die Bücher der Könige.

Von D. Rudolf Kittel, Professor der Theologie in Leipzig. Nowack's Hand-Kommentar zum Alten Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. xvi. + 312. Price, in paper, 6s. 6d; bound 8s.

Professor Kittel has increased the debt which all students of his History of the Hebrews acknowledge. His new commentary, though betraying occasional signs of haste, is learned and careful. The volume contains a new translation based on the author's reconstructed Hebrew text. The sources from which successive accounts are judged to be taken are marked by the use of different types; and, where type is insufficient, by the name in the margin. In its measure then the volume is not only a commentary, but forms prolegomena to the History. Partly because of this, partly because of the interest taken in such work to-day, a good deal of attention is devoted to the analysis of sources, and to discussion of the method in which the book came into its present form.

I give a sketch of this. In general Kittel agrees with those who detect a double revision, which selected and arranged the original sources and gave its present form to the history. A Deuteronomic editor (Rd.) writing under Jehoiakim soon after B.C. 600 worked over the whole material. To him, besides notes in the text and exhortations in the spirit of Deuteronomy, is due the formula at the beginning and end of each king's reign. He refers his readers for further details to the "book of the royal chronicles" and uses that even in reference to Jehoiakim. A later editor (R.) brought the unfinished history down to the exile, and must have written after 561. Probably however he wrote in exile, since he makes no mention directly or indirectly of

return. To him, besides that final history, we owe the attempt at a synchronistic system. The sources from which Rd. drew his materials are a book of the history of Solomon (So.) and the books of the history of the kings of Judah and Israel (K.). These last were no mere state-annals, but real works of history which incorporated yet older sources. As the K. of Judah is mentioned, 2 Kings xxiv. 5, the book must have described Jehoiakim's reign who died 597. The K. of Israel may have been written soon after the fall of Samaria 722; but Kittel counts it more likely that it was written at the same time and by the same author as the K. of Judah.

Had these been mere state-annals, it would be easy to conceive that they might be continued by the mazkir even while Rd. was compiling his history from his own standpoint. But, when one realises the condition to which Assyria had then reduced Jerusalem, one finds it difficult to believe that during those wild nine years of terror one historian wrote his volume and a second used it as the basis for another history from a wholly different standpoint. It seems more possible and more likely that the two owe their origin, if not to the same hand, then to the same school. No one can fail to notice that the book as we have it is specially interested in the religious history of the nation. It may view that history from a somewhat narrow standpoint. But it is religious movements which it relates at greatest length. It omits the large political and social changes under such names as Omri and Jeroboam II. I count it not impossible that what we have is but the history of the religion and of the forms of religion in Israel, that the author so meant it, and that he refers for all other matters to a book by himself or by one of his school, in which the political history of Israel and Judah was more amply recorded, in which larger extracts were incorporated from the older annals—a book which unfortunately the nation which came to value everything from the same side as Rd. did not retain.

A further question is that of the sources from which these "books of royal chronicles" (K.) were compiled. Kittel

names 10, and acknowledges his inability to "place" two sections. The chief are the following. He assigns the two opening chapters to the history of David (Da.). Certain brief. arid, historical facts inserted throughout the history are extracted from the royal annals (A.). Our full account of Solomon's reign we owe to two chief sources—a history of Solomon (So.) and a temple history (T.). The latter as described is so brief, so indefinite in its character, so strongly worked over by later hands that I doubt its existence. The same reasons which make Kittel refuse to see in the story of Athaliah a temple history are valid to make us refer the short sections he gives to T, to the same source which gave an account of Solomon's other buildings. There were two long accounts of Elijah (El.) and Elisha, the latter by two hands which can still be distinguished (Els. and Els.2). From a history of Isaiah (Jes.) came the account of Sennacherib's invasion. And towards the end of I Kings and throughout 2 Kings emerge two royal histories of Judean and Ephraimite origin (I. and E.), "beide in ihrer Art die Vorstufen von K.". The scheme has the appearance of being complicated—is in reality not unnatural. Within his own framework which expresses his judgment of the king, Rd. has set down from the royal annals and the royal chronicle such facts as specially interest him. however he would recount some circumstance of outstanding importance, he borrows from the original record of the event and incorporates that with more or less dexterity into his narrative.

The analysis of some of these sections is a marvel of care and knowledge and sound judgment. The study of I. i-111, 3, is beautifully carried out. Others, I venture to think, betray signs of haste.

Thus the judgment the author passes on the sin of the son of Nebat is alike sympathetic and clear. "His action might have been politically clever, had it not contained a dangerous surrender to the lower instincts of the masses of the people, which in the later development of the northern kingdom was bitterly avenged. He surrenders religion to politics, and

commits in fact a sin-no matter how many followers he may have found among later rulers" (1, xii. 20 f). But, when he concludes that the judgment of the king which those verses contain must therefore be late, he surely mistakes. The very mildness with which that is stated (contrast the virulence of xii. 33.-xiii. 10) points to its being the verdict of one nearer the king's own date, who was not insensible to the temptation which produced the sin. And when Kittel urges further that in its present position the judgment disturbs the connection, he only falls into that common habit of imagining one has explained a difficulty by referring to a later editor sentences which seem to us to disturb the connection. Further Kittel translates v. 30 b as meaning that Jeroboam is in Bethel, has founded a cult there, sends messengers to do the like at Dan, and that a part of the people who belong to the north accompany the messengers. This is surely the kind of clause which no late editor would ever insert and which has no meaning out of its context. Yet again v. 32 declares that Jeroboam followed Jerusalem in the date of his harvest festival, placing it in the 8th month. We know that Jerusalem at a later date changed to the 7th month. That makes it more likely that the verse was written some time before the change was made. May not the special reason for Jeroboam's building Penuel (v. 25) have been to overawe Mahanaim, a place which maintained so unaccountable a loyalty to the Davidic house during Absalom's rebellion?

Again in 1, xx., the account of Benhadad's assault on Samaria, Kittel would assign to a late date vv. 13 f., which represent a prophet as inciting Ahab to a sortie. Now, besides the fact that the text will not read when the verses are excised (connect v. 15 with v. 12, and it is Benhadad who musters the princes of the provinces), this idea of the prophet's work agrees with an early date. And that a prophet is represented as guiding Ahab to victory rather than denouncing his sins, as delivering Samaria rather than condemning would seem to show the account to be early.

Still more difficult is it to think vv. 35-43 of this chapter

late. Kittel believes that the bandage over the eyes of the prophet was meant to hide the mark on eyes or brow which distinguished the prophetic school, a kind of caste-mark. So soon as the man tore it off, Ahab knew him for a prophet. The custom is wholly unknown to us in any later period of Judaism; and that it is mentioned here without explanation would seem to prove that the section was written at a period when the custom was still well known. Contrast e.g. in 2, iii. how it is carefully explained that the use of music was meant to bring the spirit of God upon the prophet.

The discussion of 2, xvi. 10-18 (Ahaz's new altar from Damascus) is unsatisfactory. The corruption of the text, the many errors in grammar, the confusion of the account are enough to make one doubtful of the wisdom of calling it homogeneous and assigning it to J. And I doubt whether Kittel has succeeded in making sense of v. 14. He understands that to mean that Uriah the priest had set the new altar in front of the old, which still held its post of honour at the entrance to the temple. Ahaz orders the latter to be removed, "northwards to the side of the new altar". As the temple stood north and south, it is a little difficult to understand how a shifting of the old northwards could bring it to one side of the new.

In his treatment of the text Kittel has boldly departed from the M. T. And some of his emendations are luminous. Especially brilliant is his reconstruction of the original text in 1, vii with the sketch of the "house of the forest of Lebanon" which he has built on that. The result cannot be called sure, but is the most likely representation which has been attempted. Yet I venture to beg for a more scientific use of the LXX. The introduction contains some notes on the relative value of the MSS. of that translation. One cannot acknowledge that that has had much influence on their after use in the text criticism. Those readings would seem at times to be chosen which give a satisfactory sense, rather than those which can be proved to be oldest—subjective criticism has not been abolished here. In view of the liberal use he makes of Lucian's recension, Kittel might in

his identification of Aphek (1, xx) have noted the witness of LXX at 2, xiii., 22, where that version adds that Hazael took the Philistine out of his hand from the western sea to Aphek. That lends a certain support to those who seek the site of the Aphek of the Syrian story westwards rather than eastwards. And though the king was directed to shoot eastwards, his shot may have been meant not against the town itself but in the direction of his enemy's main strength.

One recognises gratefully Kittel's position in reference to O. T. religion. He is willing to recognise that that had a character of its own; which, while influenced by its surroundings, was always able to influence them in turn and even to transform them. Hence Kittel is not always ready to conclude from the existence of certain rites or practices in Israel the existence of the ideas on religion which those rites are known to imply in other nations. A rite may be practised in almost identical form by two peoples with very different meaning and purpose. Not only do old practices survive, out of which all meaning has long departed. But alien practices can be employed with impunity when the nation has an intention of its own in connection with them and has filled them with new content. careful to note at several places how to label one form as totemism and another as Phœnician sun worship is only to deaden the mind with phrases, so long as we are ignorant what significance Israel attached to these forms. A wholesome corrective to over readiness to dogmatise about early religions may be found in the treatment of the meaning of Baalzebub. Here Kittel in spite of the want of analogy holds to the old translation "god of flies," and pronounces Baalzebul to mean "god of dung" and to be the "Verketzerung" or name of contempt used by a later age. Chevne holds to Baalzebul as the original form meaning "god of the high place," and calls Baalzebub a later generation's insult.

To re-read this history is to regret anew the fact that the Israelite historian took so limited a view of what was meant by religious history. That he meant chiefly to write such a history there can be little doubt. The large space he gives

to matters connected with the temple, to the work of Elijah and Elisha, to the activity of Jehu and to the reform of Josiah proves this. It would be much to know all he knew of Omri and Jeroboam II., not merely because of the men in themselves, but still more because the aims they followed and the work they did reacted on the religion. The historian recognised how strong a force religion had been in his nation's history. He did not realise how largely the new social, material, intellectual conditions of the nation helped to determine the lines along which that religion developed. Yet the single fact that the religion grew into and through prophecy, not in the cramped world of Jerusalem but in the wider interests of the northern kingdom, with the other that Isaiah's activity dates from the period when Jerusalem entered that wider political world, might have taught him a larger truth. But Israel's religion is not the only one which has suffered from a narrow view of how God reveals Himself to men.

ADAM C. WELCH.

# The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, A Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text: Ezekiel.

Edited by C. H. Toy, LL.D. Leipzig, 1899. 8vo. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE announcement of Professor Haupt's great undertaking marked an epoch in the history of the textual criticism of the Old Testament. For long years Hebrew scholars were content to introduce into their commentaries occasional corrections of the Hebrew text drawn generally from the LXX., but occasionally also from other versions. If ever they ventured outside these limits, it was only to suggest some change of the vowel points, not of the consonantal text.

It became clear, however, in the course of experience, that the textual critic could not arrest his criticism at such a point. Parallel passages suggest certain probabilities of error in transcription which have to be considered, even in cases in which there is no confirmatory evidence to be derived from the versions. Indeed, as we know that most of the Biblical books were written some centuries before they were translated, we must allow for the existence of textual errors more ancient than any version.

Professor Toy's Ezekiel is a full and modern textual study of great value. But just because Professor Toy's work is good, it is possible for the reviewer, without being thought to pass mere personal criticisms, to enter a protest—which is badly needed—against regarding the Polychrome Bible as anything more than a series of studies. There is a danger lest younger scholars, inexperienced in the past history of the textual criticism of the Old Testament, may take this critical edition to be final, at least as against the Masoretic text. Complaints are sometimes heard that such and such a scholar has not quoted from "the corrected text".

It is, however, important to remember that the M.T. is not necessarily always wrong when it is called in question, nor, where the M.T. is wrong, is the last correction always right. It is unlikely that any scholar of to-day would have produced a "critical edition" of Ezekiel better than Professor Toy's. but it must still be remembered that much of the work is subjective in its character, and offers room for a wide divergence of educated opinion. It may be doubted, e.g., whether scholars generally will accept Dr. Toy's correction of chap. viii., 17 (they put the branch to their nose), in accordance with tiggun sopherim. Again, is the corrected text of chap. xxi. 27 [22 E.V.] better than the M.T.? Dr. Toy, in common with most scholars (including King James' translators), finds a difficulty in the repetition "to set battering rams . . . to set battering rams" (So R.V.). But repetitions are not always "vain repetitions". Here the M.T. repeats what is worth repeating. The prophet sees the events of the siege crowded into two brief glimpses, and in each glimpse the terrible battering ram is at work. The first indeed is of the ram alone :-

(1) "To set battering rams:—

(2) "To open a breach with breaking,

(To open the mouth with shouting: Toy)

(3) "To lift up the voice with the war cry."

The second glimpse takes in all the operations of the siege:—

- (4) "To set battering rams even against the gates,
- (5) "To cast up mounts,
- (6) "To build forts."

Professor Toy wishes to omit (1), with the result that the thunder is put before the *lightning* (quite a mistake in war), and the siege begins with shouting.

Cannon to right of them, Cannon to left of them,—

(For "cannon" 1mo read "shouting".)

W. EMERY BARNES.

### Theism in the Light of Present Science and Philosophy.

By James Iverach, M.A., D.D. London; Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo., pp. 330. Price 6s.

THE Charles F. Deems' trustees have been fortunate in securing such an excellent course of lectures as this to inaugurate the new foundation. In such series, the first course, to some extent, sets the standard for succeeding lectures; and certainly Professor Iverach has set this at a sufficiently high level. It is open to question whether courses of lectures of this sort are of sufficient permanent utility to compensate for the trouble of their composition. It is given to very few to gain permanent profit by hearing a discourse on a profound philosophical theme such as that of these lectures; and, with respect to their subsequent publication, the form in which such lectures must necessarily be cast is not the most appropriate for the thorough and satisfactory discussion of the questions with which the author He must divide his subject in a somewhat Procrustean method to fit the number of lectures in the course, and there is a strong temptation to adopt a rhetorical style, and to endeavour to "score points," thereby interfering with the dispassionate tone which is desirable in a treatise upon philosophical subjects. These considerations are to some extent forced on the readers of Professor Iverach's lectures. as it is chiefly in these respects that they are at all open to criticism. The scheme of the course is well conceived, and the development of his successive propositions is excellently planned, and carried out with an originality which is surprising when one remembers the extensive literature of the subject; but the lectures, while approximately equal in length are unequal in importance, and the argument is here and there a little clouded by the rhetorical style of the

composition. On the whole, however, it is a masterly treatise, deserving of a longer life than that which usually falls to the lot of such courses of lectures.

Throughout these lectures Professor Iverach demonstrates the failure of the analytic method to give adequate conceptions of the truth regarding nature, ourselves and God. Analysis proceeds by abstraction, taking certain attributes from their surroundings, and making these the basis of reasoning. In the real world existences are not abstract nor isolated, but are in contact with their whole environment, influencing and being influenced by all that are related to them. This central principle of the solidarity of the Universe he shows in the case of the inorganic world, which must be studied in its relation, not only to its own components, but also to living beings. These latter must, in turn, be considered not as units but as parts of the cosmos, and also in reference to the highest forms of life which are manifested in man. Man himself cannot be taken apart from the objects of his reason and the sources of his emotions, and especially that which is the highest of all such objects and sources.

This is undoubtedly true. A great philosopher has called the Universe "a many of things which condition each other reciprocally"; but with our finite faculties the analytic method is the only one possible for us if we wish to have clear understanding of the details in nature, and knowledge of the particular must here precede knowledge of the general. By all means let us aim at making the concrete whole of nature the goal to which our studies tend, but the reaching of this goal would be an impossibility if each department of nature had not been previously studied part by part and section by Philosophers like Professor Iverach find ready to their hands the results of the labours of those who have worked analytically, and who, although they naturally describe their results in terms of their abstractions, yet do not thereby mean to ignore the larger truth which lies beyond. It is true that some of these "cannot see the forest for the trees," and the criticism lies against such; but it can scarcely be upheld as an indictment against all investigators in the field of nature. Professor Iverach himself admits this (p. 5), indeed the instance given on p. 13 of the discovery of Argon was a triumph of the analytic method in the endeavour to account for the difference between the density of atmospheric nitrogen and the pure gas obtained from other sources.

Throughout these lectures Professor Iverach adopts to the full the evolution hypothesis, not only in inorganic and the lower organic world, but also in regard to the origin of man. This however he seems to do to some extent under protest, at least it is difficult otherwise to understand certain passages

(see pp. 35, 89, 98, etc.).

In dealing with the relations of life to the forces of nature, the Professor himself gives us an example of the evil of logical abstraction. He has made certain abstractions which he calls physical forces, and argues that they are incompetent to account for vital phenomena. In order, however, to establish the unity of nature, he has to assume that life was implicit in the nature of existence as a whole. It is certainly necessary to widen the definition of force to allow of such implication, and this enlargement he says can be made "without drawing on any physical force unknown or unused in physics". Yet, after admitting this, he proceeds at once to postulate a deus ex machina, a master which makes the elements assume new combinations, enter on new forms, obey new laws and begin a new course of evolution. If the metaphor be valid, this is certainly the introduction of a new force unknown and unused in physics. These two statements can only be harmonised by the use of an abstract definition, limiting the extension of the word physical, but against such abstraction he has warned us in an earlier section.

The error of the crude evolutionism which regards the cell as a simple unit is very properly pointed out. It is known now that a cell is a highly complex organisation, whose several parts have definite functions in the processes of nutrition and reproduction. Within itself are manifested those differentiations which, on a larger scale are seen in the complex being made of many cells; the difference is that

each of these processes, which takes place in the single cell, becomes distributed when that cell divides and gives rise to a compound multicellular organism, becoming respectively the specific properties of some of the cellular elements produced by the division. Whatever difficulty there is in understanding the division of labour in a multicellular organism, the same has to be faced by the student of the single cell. Professor Iverach makes a good point of the unity of the organism. In a healthy multicellular life of the complex living being there is no schism in the body; but occasionally schisms do arise, and with these the science of pathology is concerned.

Some of the terms which have passed into common use in connection with Darwinian evolution come in for severe criticism, but the things expressed by these terms are for the most part admitted by the Professor. Survival of the fittest is simply what he himself predicates, that everything that survives is the fittest. There is no connotation of progress in the term, and if the lingula of the palæozoic age survives to-day, co-existing with the highest molluscan products of evolution, it simply means that it is still perfectly accommodated to its environment, while some of its congeners with changing environment have undergone correlative changes of struc-Struggle for life he is inclined to minimise, yet when he comes to the region whereof he has more perfect knowledge, he admits it to the full (see p. 133). is perfectly right in condemning the personification of Natural Selection as if it were a kind of Demiurge. is no doubt that one school of biologists is accustomed to speak of Natural Selection as though it were a single power compelling the differentiation of species. It is a pity that the force of this portion of his argument is weakened by the rhetorical passage on p. 78. In a later lecture he criticisés Mr. Kidd's use of the phrase "survival of the fittest," as being inconsistent with degeneration, but every biologist knows that, in certain conditions, a degenerate form is the fittest, as in parasitic animals like Pentastomum.

These are however, criticisms on minor points of detail.

The main argument is well expressed and cogent, that evolution has proceeded along orderly lines, and there is nothing in the facts to exclude, and much that directly involves, predetermination and supervision. Weismann's theories are summarily dismissed by Professor Iverach as if they were contrary to the weight of evidence. They concern some of the most involved parts of biological science; and, despite assertions to the contrary, the cases in which there is any evidence that acquired characters have been hereditarily transmitted are few and obscure, and in all it is impossible to demonstrate that such has taken place. The instance, which in the classical controversy between Spencer and Weismann was claimed by the former as conclusive, has hopelessly broken down on further investigation.

In the fourth lecture "On rational life and its complications" the most noteworthy part is the recognition of the change which human intelligence produces in the relationship of the individual to his environment. He is no longer only dependent on his corporeal resources; but the use of tools, the discovery of fire and the power of co-operating with his fellows by speech have given him the mastery over all other animals and indeed over to some extent the forces of nature. These conditions whereby man bends his environments to his own purposes, and the consequences of this superiority, are excellently well discussed and shown to be far-reaching.

Professor Iverach admits the derivative theory of the origin of man, although he guards himself by saying that it is confessedly difficult to choose a form from which man may be said to have been descended. This is not a matter of choice, for obviously man cannot be descended from any existing anthropoid. They are each one, as he is, terminal branches of the genealogical tree. It is rather a question of discovery of the fossil remains in whatever subtropical land was the cradle of the race.

The fifth lecture "On the making of man" is one of the best of the course, the central thoughts being the effects of the struggle for life on human development, and the solidarity of humanity.

In the sixth lecture the Professor subjects the works of Benjamin Kidd and Arthur Balfour to a searching criticism, especially from the standpoint of the unity of human life and thought, and he comes to the conclusion that both are fundamentally wrong in regarding religion as extra rational. This lecture is a digression from the main argument, but is interesting and forcible.

The discussion of personality in the seventh lecture is a sequel to the preceding studies of the unity of nature and of mankind in the concrete. He follows Lotze in discriminating the ontological distinction of the self and the notself, from the metaphysical distinction between subject and object; the former being one of fixed boundaries, the latter a mental function continually changing in content. He also discriminates individuality from personality. former is the self which is characteristic of every living being capable of instinctive or voluntary action. The latter is that which man wins by a mental effort, reflecting on the phenomena of his manifold life. This definition is practically the same as that given by Lotze, that a spirit is a "person so soon as ever it knows itself as unitary subject in opposition to its own states and to its own ideas; these states and ideas, it recognises itself as uniting in itself, as the subject of them, while they are only dependent states in it." Thus personality ascribed to God does not require us to assume a reality outside Him and limiting Him, but only the production in Him of a world of ideas to which He finds Himself in contrast as to His own states. God's personality is therefore the only perfected personality, for the finite can only become acquainted with the world outside itself gradually, through a series of interactions with it; while with God's personality there is no becoming and no limits save those set by Himself.

In the eighth lecture the relations which Religion bears to the whole man are admirably set forth. It is not merely dependent on feeling or upon reason, but is rational, emotional and volitional, and is therefore more than a philosophy. As to its origin he rejects the ghost-theory, dream-theory and animistic-theory but formulates none of his own. He regards

religion and ethics as fundamentally associated, and accounts for the disjunction noted in the history of some races as due to the preservation of earlier forms of religion, even after mankind has risen to higher grades of culture in which his moral sense has developed until it is out of harmony with surviving religious notions.

The last two lectures deal with the relations of the agnostic and idealistic philosophy to Theism. In the discussion of the former he travels over the ground dealt with in his wellknown earlier work, Is God Knowable? In dealing with the latter he postulates that religion is possible only when there is what Lotze calls a living "relation of piety," between God and man, and when man realises that God is no abstraction but is the All-in-All of the whole system of qualities and properties which may belong to things in the world. While adopting the idealist position in general, he hesitates to follow some of the leaders of thought of this school, because the unity which he seeks, and in which he believes the truth to consist, is not to be reached by the methods of abstraction which they employ, but must be one which leaves room for individuality, in which each spirit has the faculty of beingfor-itself and not merely a thought in the minds of another.

The interrelations of the elements of this greatest of unities leads to the inquiry as to the meaning of the cosmos, which he surmises may be a mode of communion between beings who can think, reason and feel. History likewise, "the drama in which God's own being unfolds itself" is the record of a living God striving to persuade an intelligent rational creature of the kind of life he ought to live, and to win him to surrender himself to the higher guidance. The highest realisation of the unity which has thus been found to run throughout all nature is in the unique figure of Christ, and mankind participates in that unity when by surrender to Christ the individual believer becomes united to Him, and through Him to the Godhead.

There is much force in the thought with which the lectures end. In view of the progress of scientific investigation in these and other fields, there is need to re-examine the dogmatic position of Christian Theology, and probably to recast the forms in which some of its propositions are stated. It is well for the Christian Church that it has leaders in theological science such as Professor Iverach, alive to the changing conditions of human knowledge, and capable of realising their bearings on the formulation of religious truth.

ALEX. MACALISTER.

- Michael: Eine Darstellung und Vergleichung der jüdischen und der morgenländisch-christlichen Tradition vom Erzengel Michael.
- Von Wilhelm Lueken, Lic. Theol. in Oldenburg. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. x. + 186. Price M.4.8o.
- 2. Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus.
- Von M. Friedländer. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1898. 8vo, pp. ix. + 123. Price 3s.
- 3. A Critical Commentary on the Book of Daniel; designed especially for students of the English Bible.
- By J. Dyneley Prince, Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages in the New York University. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. + 270. Price 9s.
- I. THE study of Jewish Apocalyptic literature has made rapid progress in recent years, as its importance for the understanding of Christian theology becomes increasingly apparent. Amongst other branches of inquiry, that relating to Jewish angelology has assumed great significance, and the present monograph by Dr. Lueken will be welcomed as a valuable contribution to the literature on this subject. The monograph deals with the views that have prevailed regarding Michael, the guardian angel of the Jewish people, the saint of the Christian Church. Dr. Lueken sets out with citing and examining the abundant evidence that goes to establish the existence of angel-worship among the Jews, and adduces specimens of prayers to angels, and to Michael in particular. Next he deals with the doctrine of guardian angels for the different nations, which (cf. Dan. x. 13, 21; xii. 1) assigned Michael to Israel as its guardian. Interesting details are

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quoted as to the part that Michael was held to have played at the giving of the law, the institution of the priesthood, etc., his office as Israel's advocate before God's tribunal, his relation to the Antichrist, his conquest of the dragon and the powers hostile to God. Michael appears, further, as high priest in the ideal temple in heaven, and as pre-eminent among the angels. Special functions are attributed to him also in Jewish eschatology, in connection with the souls of individuals, the keeping of the heavenly gates, the presenting of the souls of the righteous as offerings, the resurrection of the dead, the admittance of the righteous to paradise and the release of the condemned from hell. As a nature angel, Michael is the angel of water (and snow), as Gabriel is of fire, or of silver, as Gabriel is of gold.

Passing from Judaism to Christianity, we find many of the above notions reappearing. St. Paul (in Col. ii. 18) has to warn his readers against the worship of angels, but in spite of this, a belief in the efficacy of angelic intercession and consequently the practice of offering prayer to these beings evidently persisted in many circles. So with the notions about the high priesthood of Michael and his office of guardian. which was transferred from Jews to Christians, his war with the dragon, the part to be played by him at the resurrection, etc. Of special interest is the section of the monograph which deals with the influence exercised upon Christology by the Jewish angelology. For instance, the idea of Christ as a pre-existent heavenly Being who appeared on earth and then returned to God in order to remain at His right hand as Lord of the heavenly hosts and of Christians, and as High Priest who presents the petitions of His people, and makes at once intercession and propitiation for them-all this has not only an external resemblance to the Jewish beliefs about Michael and other angels, but direct relations between the two conceptions can be traced. Special importance is attached by Dr. Lueken to the Jewish angelology in its bearing upon the conception in the New Testament and elsewhere of the exalted and glorified Christ. The somewhat doubtful exegesis our author is disposed to adopt for Phil. ii. 6-11, would find

in this passage a reflection of the Jewish teaching about the fidelity of Michael when Satan rebelled. In any case, it is held, features which originally belonged to Michael, the heavenly lord of the Jewish community, are applied to the exalted Lord of Christians. In Him was seen a heavenly High Priest more eminent than the angels, nay, even than the high-priestly archangel Michael, and One of whose intercession with God the Christian may feel assured.

From the above sketch of some of our author's conclusions, all of which are supported by weighty evidence, it will be evident that Dr. Lueken's monograph is of extreme importance. It will have henceforth to be reckoned with, like Bousset's Antichrist, by all students of the obscure but interesting subject with which it deals.

2. The present work by Dr. Friedlander follows up his Iudenthum in der vorchristlichen griechischen Welt, which was published in 1897. The main contention of that work was that amongst the Jews of the Diaspora, even in pre-Christian times, there were a "conservative" school and a "radical," and that the two tendencies represented by these transplanted themselves into the Christian Church, where they showed themselves respectively in the form of legalism, and of the claim to freedom from the law. This position is reasserted in the work before us, and defended against the objections of Schürer (Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1897, p. 326) and others. It is to the ".radical" school, we are told, that we must ascribe the founding of the gnosticism with some forms of which we make acquaintance in the New Testament. Dr. Friedlander seeks, further, to prove that wherever in the Rabbinical literature Minim are spoken of, it is these Jewish gnostics that are in view. He disagrees entirely with a widely current explanation of the Talmudical passage (Shabb. 116a), "the Gilyonim and the writings of the Minim one does not save from a fire on the Sabbath day". The Gilyonim are frequently said to stand for the gospels, being a corruption of εὐαγγέλια, and the Minim for the (Jewish) Christians. This explanation does not appear to our author, even assuming that the gospels were current by the end of the first century, to account for the intense and seemingly longrooted hate for the Minim which is exhibited in the Talmud. Accordingly he seeks for them amongst the Jews themselves, and considers that light is thrown upon their identity by a passage in Philo (de migrat. Abrah., ed. Mangey, i., 450). where a class of allegorising Jews is held up to reprobation because, from the supposed necessity of understanding the Mosaic law in a philosophical sense, they set themselves above all the religious and national ceremonies prescribed in it and held inviolable by orthodox Israelites-such as the Sabbath, the Festivals, Circumcision, and the Temple worship. Dr. Friedländer tells us that these marks disposed him at first to identify the sect alluded to with the Essenes and Therapeutae, but here again the hatred expressed by the Talmudical writers would be inexplicable as directed against the Essenes. Turning, however, once more to Philo (de posteritate Caini, ed. Mangey, i., 226 ff.), our author finds in the "Cainites" the precursors of the Christian sects of the Ophites, Cainites, Sethites and Melchizedekians. way he succeeds in filling in his picture of antinomian Jewish gnostics, who, starting from the allegorising exegesis of Scripture which characterised the Jewish-Alexandrian school, came to depreciate and finally to abrogate the ceremonial law, and, further, to regard the God who created the world as a different Being from, and far inferior to, the supreme God recognised by the gnostics. In the Gilvonim Dr. Friedländer finds the diagram of the Ophites.

In view of these results, the evidence for which is presented with a wealth of knowledge and an argumentative skill which awaken admiration if they do not compel assent, Dr. Friedländer argues that the current way of speaking of Paul as the founder of Gentile Christianity, and in fact the whole notion of a Jewish versus a Gentile Christianity must be given up, and that the real factors we must recognise in the early history of the Church are a "conservative" and a "radical" Jewish Christianity.

It will scarcely be denied that there is a large measure of truth in Dr. Friedländer's contentions. An incipient Jewish gnosticism in the pre-Christian period has, in fact, been widely admitted, but it may well be questioned if this gnosticism was such a full-blown and highly-developed product as he would have us believe. The objections of Schürer, which are repeated by him in a review of the present work (Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1899, p. 167 f.), will still be felt by many to possess much force. In particular his contention that Minim denotes neither (Jewish) Christians alone nor "antinomian (Jewish) gnostics" alone, but all unbelievers or heretics, appears to be established beyond all reasonable doubt. In spite of this, however, it will be universally conceded that in this erudite work Dr. Friedländer has materially enriched our knowledge of the influence exerted by pre-Christian Jewish currents of thought upon the theology and the history of the Church of the New Testament.

3. Good commentaries on the Book of Daniel are still few. We are, indeed, fortunate in possessing in English the excellent work of Prof. Bevan, which, it is needless to say, is thoroughly up to date in philology, archæology, and other branches of expert study. But, as its title page declares, it is "for the use of students," and hence not a few who wish for a commentary that shall be reliable and scholarly, and at the same time somewhat more popular, will welcome the appearance of Dr. Prince's book, which is "designed especially for students of the English Bible". The work is divided into three parts: a General Introduction (pp. 1-56), a Critical Commentary (pp. 57-193), and a Philological Commentary (pp. 195-259), and the author has incorporated in it his dissertation on "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin". Prof. Prince arrives at the same conclusions as the great majority of modern critics, regarding the date of the Book of Daniel (which he holds to be a unity), the question of Darius the Mede, and in general regarding the authenticity of the book, whose contents, as a whole, cannot, he thinks, be held to Vol. X .- No. 3.

possess historical authority. At the same time he concedes more than some would be prepared to do, as to a historical basis for some of the legends, e.g., the strange insanity of Nebuchadnezzar, while in regard to the name and the character of Daniel he declares it to be hardly probable that the author "invented these out of whole cloth". The Vision of the Four Beasts in chap. vii. is interpreted, we believe correctly, to refer to the following four empires: (I) the Babylonian, (2) the Median, (3) the Persian, (4) the Grecian.

We have the fullest confidence, after somewhat careful testing, in recommending this commentary as one that admirably fulfils its purpose. The student who is provided with it will discover the real meaning of the Book of Daniel, whose contents have hitherto been too often regarded as an insoluble enigma or used as an exercise for the fancy.

J. A. SELBIE.

# The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges. (I) The Proverbs.

Edited by the Ven. T.T. Perowne, B.D., Archdeacon of Norwich. Cambridge University Press, 1899. pp. 106. Price 3s.

### (2) The Book of Chronicles.

Edited by William Emery Barnes, D.D., Fellow and Chaplain of Peterhouse. Cambridge University Press, 1899. pp. xxxvi+303. Price 4s.

1. Two additions have been made to the series of the Cambridge Bible for schools and colleges. The Ven. T. T. Perowne, who edits the Proverbs, discusses in a well-written introduction the literary character, the authorship, the moral and religious teaching, and analyses of the contents of the book. He brings out the fact that the Hebrew wisdom or philosophy is not speculative but practical, and not national but human. A proverb is literally a likeness, a statement of any kind strengthened and enlivened by the aid of a comparison; then a representative statement, a common truth or principle by virtue of which a group of varying facts or phenomena are expressed; finally a short sententious saying in general. Proverbs, as Wordsworth says, are

Shrewd remarks
Of moral prudence, clothed in images
Lively and beautiful.

Regarding the authorship of the Book, Mr. Perowne takes up a position which is now regarded as very conservative. "Without presuming to dogmatise" he thinks that "speaking generally, the authorship of the main collection of proverbs proper and of the introduction which precedes it (in other words of the present Book as far as xxii. 16) may reasonably be ascribed to Solomon." The proverbs in the central part

of the Book are proverbs of Solomon in the strict sense of the word. "Their common authorship is rendered probable by the recurrence of favourite words and phrases." While Mr. Perowne clings to this position, he does not seriously attempt to meet the objections of historical and literary critics. He simply takes one instance of subjective criticism as a type. Dr. Horton finds in the proverb, "As a bird that wanders from her nest, so is a man that wanders from his place," an allusion to the exile. Mr. Perowne playfully asks whether the proverb "might not be just as well relegated. on such grounds, to the age of Cain, the first and most notorious wanderer from his home." Probably Dr. Toy's recently published volume on the Proverbs will convince Mr. Perowne that the mass of evidence for a later date cannot be so lightly brushed aside. Under the head of moral and religious teaching, the writer has some very suggestive remarks on "prophecy by ideals," with special reference, of course, to the splendid conception of personified Wisdom. But when he finds in the Proverbs "clear and forcible testimony to a belief in a future life," he is easily satisfied. The one saying which seems to refer to the future—"the righteous hath hope in his death "-is of doubtful authority, and differs entirely in the LXX. The Notes which form the main part of the volume are in many respects excellent. The numerous classical allusions are very interesting. But it seems to us a pity that so much space is taken up with the comparison of the A.V. and the R.V. The process of collating verse after verse becomes extremely tiresome and distracting to the reader. If the R.V. is here invariably better than the A.V. and we have not observed in Mr. Perowne's notes a single case to the contrary—why burden the memory with the A.V. at all? It would be far better—if it be permissible—to print the R.V. as the basis of the notes, and get down to the contents of the Book without more ado. In general, Mr. Perowne's attention is so much taken up with what is external, grammatical and textual, that instead of getting at the inner meaning of a passage we are left just on the threshold. A commentary to be helpful in the highest sense should be an appreciation;

the writer should communicate to his readers the glow of admiration with which he himself reads his author. The Book of Proverbs is so amazingly wise and clever that one is always inclined to question J. P. Robinson's famous saying:

They didn't know everythin' down in Judee.

On practical ethics and religion the wise Hebrews knew most things, and the expositor should concentrate our attention upon their ideals of faith and character and duty. To give an instance of the kind of commenting which appears to us to mar Mr. Perowne's excellent work: why should he devote a long paragraph to the anatomy of the coney? It is no doubt interesting to know that this creature of God has "long plantigrade feet, no tail, nails instead of claws, weak teeth and short incisors," but the Bible was not written to tell us about plantigrade Agar the son of Jakeh looked at the "feeble folk" in a different light. Mr. Perowne's references to parallel scriptures are usually accurate and well-chosen, though among so many passages slips are almost inevitable. The proverb, "A wise servant shall have rule over a son that causeth shame," is said to be "exemplified in Eliezer of Damascus." But Eliezer and Ishmael are never once mentioned together. The reference is given to Gen. xv., 2, but the son that caused shame in Abraham's household is not born till a later chapter.

<sup>2.</sup> Dr. Barnes, who writes on the Chronicles, agrees with most scholars in thinking that this Book cannot have been completed till circ. 300-250 B.C. The sources which the chronicler used, in addition to the Book of Kings, were family or tribal songs or traditions, local traditions, and prophetic or priestly writings now lost to us. The narratives which are peculiar to Chronicles—such as the wonderful victories of Abijah, Asa and Jehoshaphat, Uzziah's leprosy, Manasseh's repentance—have often been regarded as of the nature of haggadah, that is, as tales or parables enforcing moral and religious lessons. Mr. Barnes regards them as, on the whole, historical as well as edifying. He admits, how-

ever, that in this Book "the great men of Israel are idealised," that the numbers are exaggerated, that there are "many anachronisms," that "the one main purpose of the Chronicler was to impress on his people the importance of the Temple worship," and he believes that the Priestly Code as a whole was not, as the Chronicler assumes, pre-exilic.

Dr. Barnes indicates all the passages in which the Kings and the Chronicles agree. But what the thoughtful reader rather wants is a key to the acknowledged discrepancies between the two Books. To take an instance: in the Kings Abijah walks in all the sins of his father, and nothing is mentioned to his credit; in the Chronicles, the unfavourable judgment is omitted, and he is represented as a brave and Dr. Barnes does not accept the theory of the pious prince. sacred haggadah, but as a rule he offers no other. In one striking instance, however, he does essay to reconstruct history. It is the case of Elijah's mysterious letter to Jehoram. "Even in Jehoshaphat's reign," says the expositor, "Elijah seems to have been no longer among the living. A prophecy of Elijah against Jehoram of Judah is an unlikely event. May it be that some adaptation of words of Elijah to suit Jehoram's case was placarded by some unknown hand outside Jehoram's palace?" If this, however, is the modicum of historical truth that underlies the narrative, we do not know that there is much to choose between the myth and the haggadah pure and simple.

One of the most characteristic chapters in the Chronicles is the narrative of the invasion of Judah by an immense host from the east of Jordan and the march of the congregation against them, not with weapons of war but with musical instruments (2 Chr. xx.) The whole story as told by the Chronicles is extremely impressive and edifying. But it is entirely omitted from the Kings, and many scholars are inclined to regard it as a parable. Dr. Barnes accepts its historicity, but instead of giving us his reasons for doing so, he refers us to Prof. G. A. Smith's Historical Geography for "a discussion of the historical probabilities of the following account" (p. 212). It is an easy way of settling difficulties.

Now on referring to Prof. Smith's book we find some remarks as to the geographical features of the narrative, but as for a "discussion" of its historicity, there is really none. On the contrary the story is evidently as great a puzzle to Prof. Smith as to other scholars, for he remarks that the narrative is very obscure, and that "all the places are as unknown as the authors of the mysterious slaughter."

On questions of language and topography Dr. Barnes' Notes are very full. No authority is quoted so often as Bädeker. But the Biblical theology is defective on some important points. How does the earlier historian say that God moved David to number Israel, and the later that Satan stood up and moved David to number Israel? Nothing is said as to the development of the new doctrine of the Satan or accuser. And one might expect something regarding the ethical difficulties which puzzle ordinary readers. When, for example, it is said that Jehoshaphat and his holy army took three days to plunder the dead bodies of enemies whom others had slain (2 Chr. xx., 25), is it right that the expositor should pass the matter over in complete silence?

JAS. STRACHAN.

# A History of New Testament Times in Palestine.

By Professor Shailer Mathews, A.M., Chicago. Published by the MacMillan Co. of New York. Pp. 218. Price 3s. 6d.

### Studies of the Portrait of Christ.

By the Rev. George Matheson D.D., F.R.S.E. Hodder & Stoughton. Pp. 326. Price 6s.

THIS volume is one of a promised series of New Testament Handbooks. Professor Mathews is general editor. One volume has been published, a History of New Testament Textual Criticism by Professor Vincent.

The work before us is printed on good paper, well bound and pleasant to handle. The author allows himself considerable freedom in delimiting his subject. He goes back to B.C. 175, working over the century and three-quarters for an effective background. The plan is open to criticism; for it is not till we have turned the 100th page that we come to what may be specifically termed New Testament times.

With this little exception, however, criticism is satisfied. The book is an outcome of excellent historical work. Valuable footnotes afford practical guidance for further study; and there are additional evidences of the author's thorough equipment for the work which he has so successfully completed. This is not dry-as-dust history. There is movement and life in the story. There are pages that stir the blood. The writer approaches his varied material with sympathy, and is by no means undiscriminating where he cannot approve. The remark is apropos of his sympathetic statement of the better side in Scribism (p. 161). The same attitude is evident in his account of the Messianic hope.

"It is naturally difficult to reproduce exactly and in detail this national expectation as it appeared among so many groups of men. The literature which has survived was probably that of but one or two schools of religionists, and the hope of the masses has to be reconstructed from incidental statements and allusions. Speaking generally, however, the hope took two directions—that of literature and that of popular feeling" (p. 165).

The italics are ours: the clause we emphasize reveals the keen human sympathy with which the whole inquiry is prosecuted.

If sympathy is anywhere absent, or at least suppressed, it is with what is surely a too impartial historical spirit in the setting of Jesus in the circumstances of His times. The picture is accurately limned, but is wanting in the expression of life. No doubt the author has his reply, that here especially the historian must be scrupulously impartial. We shall not quarrel. Certain it is the student sees the facts, if he sees them through the cold light of science. We look with interest and anticipated pleasure to the issue of this useful and valuable series.

The purport of Dr. Matheson's work is made clear by the title. The idea of the portrait runs through the whole volume, yet without being overworked.

The work is happily characterised by the various qualities which belong to Dr. Matheson's writings, imaginative though not to excess, original and germinative, at once devout and strong. The work is to be described as semi-devotional. The epithet, of course, casts no doubt upon the element of devotion but suggests the presence of a strong intellectual element as well, combining with the devotional. This is a welcome presence in such a volume. The work is in fact a systematic study of the human development of Jesus and is deserving of a most hearty welcome as a stimulating manual of devotion.

Many a terse sententious saying is to be found in the book. "Teach me that the burial of self is the road to resurrection." "The measure of a man is not his experience but his hope." "There is as much narrowness in the inability to contract as in the inability to expand."

The expositions are generally concrete, always clear, and often marked by insight and vision. It is embarrassing to select: we give one instance of happy suggestive exposition.

"Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus, who

though in the form of God ---"

"This is Paul's philosophy of the life of Jesus. What is it? It is the description of a ladder of descent. You observe that it goes systematically from the top to the bottom. It begins by delineating the height, and it ends by depicting the vale.

"Every step of the ladder of Jesus is described as a step downwards. We see Him first 'in the form of God'-in the enjoyment of the Divine Communion. Here comes the first interruption to the Communion. It is a thought—the thought of those who share not the privilege. This thought will not let Him rest satisfied with a personal Communion; He will not snatch it for Himself alone. He puts Himself in the place of those outside: He begins by doing so in thought. He empties Himself in imagination, of His own beatific vision -tries to conceive what life would be without it. passes from imagination into act. Step by step he comes down. He takes the servant's form-lofty yet subordinate. He comes down lower to the likeness of ordinary men; He participates a common experience. He descends further still; He loses His first fame; He is recognised only 'in the fashion of a man'. He stoops still lower; He humbles Himself-gives up His just ideal of an immediate kingdom. Then comes the schooling of His mind to a more dismal ideal: He becomes obedient unto death.

"At last the foot of the ladder is reached in the most repulsive form of death—the form which separated the ordinary man from the despised man—the death of the cross" (pp. 71, 72).

This is a really helpful popular exposition, and many such passages occur through the work. We hope Dr. Matheson will be encouraged by the reception of this volume to "pursue the narrative to the close" in a later volume.

# Das Verhältnis der Römischen Kirche zu den Kleinasiatischen vor dem Nicaenischen Konzil.

Antrittsvorlesung von Mag. Theol. A. Berendts, Dozent an der Universität in Dorpat. Leipzig: A. Deichert; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. 26. Price M.o.6o.

It is the purpose of the author of this lecture to discover the primary causes of the separation between the Eastern and Western Churches. It is not enough to say that the violent insertion of the Filioque in the symbol by the Western Church violated the principle of love by which Christendom was bound together. Herr Berendts believes that we must go much farther back to find the true causes of separation. He goes back into the Ante-Nicene period to find the beginning of differences which could have no other issue than the schism of the ninth century. The thesis which he seeks to prove is, that the germs of such a divergence are to be seen in elements existing in the ecclesiastical life of the East and West during the Old Catholic and Post-Apostolic periods.

The sources are extremely meagre. Eusebius is the only historian who deals with the whole of the Ante-Nicene period; but he concentrates his attention upon Alexandria and Rome, and has scarcely anything to say about Asia Minor, Greece and Antioch. The writers of the Old Catholic Age, whose works have come down to us—Justin, Irenaeus, Methodius—deal for the most part with other questions than those with which we are concerned. And of Post-Apostolic writers only Clement of Rome and Ignatius of Antioch afford us any help.

There were two controversies which began early to divide East and West, and which early laid the foundations of the ultimate schism: these were the Easter controversy and the question about heretic baptism. The Church of Asia Minor,

and originally also other Churches of the East, were Quartodeciman, and their views were opposed and rejected by Roman bishops from Xystus to Anicetus, though fellowship with those of such opinions residing in Rome were not broken. The story of the controversy between Polycarp of Smyrna and Anicetus of Rome in A.D. 154 is well known. Berendts traces in an interesting way the gradual establishment of Roman authority in the decision of controversies. Victor, in A.D. 196, decided against Polycrates, and would have broken off church fellowship with the Church of Asia, but for the opposition shown to such extreme measures. serious were the disputes which arose over the question of heretic baptism in A.D. 255. The Decian persecution and the Novatian schism had greatly thinned the ranks of the Roman Church, and so it was in the interest of the Roman bishops not to make the return of the sectaries needlessly The Church of Asia Minor denied the validity of heretic baptism, but the Roman Church acknowledged its validity. Cyprian of Carthage and Firmilian of Caesarea in Cappadocia opposed the Roman doctrine, which, however, through Augustine's anti-Donatist writings at last gained general ascendency. The concluding portion of the lecture deals generally with the question of the unity of the Church.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

# The Apostolic Age: Its life, doctrine, worship and polity-

By James Vernon Bartlet, M.A.; Lecturer on Church History in Mansfield College, Oxford. Edinburgh; T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xliv. + 542. Price 6s.

THE Apostolic Age is taken by Mr. Bartlet in the larger sense in which it covers the whole of the first century. After an introduction treating of the scope, sources and chronology of the history, of the old soil and the new seed which was sown in it, he proceeds to the history itself. It is distributed into three books. The first covers the period from A.D. 20 to 62. and includes the whole work of Paul. The second, entitled "The Age of Transition," extends from 62 to 70, and though it includes the first epistle of Peter to the churches of Asia Minor, is mainly occupied with events in Palestine, and in Syria generally. The third, which is headed "The Second Generation: Trials and Consolidation", continues the history from the fall of Jerusalem to the death of St. John, and the epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. In a fourth book, under the title of "Church Life and Doctrine," Mr. Bartlet summarises some of the results which have been reached in the other three. Unlike some others which have appeared in the same series—Eras of the Christian Church—Mr. Bartlet's work is an original and most interesting contribution to the study of the period with which it deals. He is acquainted with the literature; he knows the nature of the problems which he has in hand; he makes a happy use of analogies -for example, those of modern missionary experience-to elucidate difficulties for which learning alone has no key; and under the influence of scholars like Hort, Zahn and Ramsay, he frames such hypotheses as he needs, with a combination of real knowledge and of ingenious and scrupulous discretion which commands admiration if not always conviction.

The first period, which may be said to be co-extensive with the lives of Paul and James, is naturally treated at greatest length. Its general character is given, if we say that throughout it Acts is regarded as a historical authority of the highest value. It is admitted that the author "makes no use of the Pauline epistles" (p. 511), but means are devised to keep him in complete harmony with them. Mr. Bartlet accepts the South Galatian theory, and agrees with Professor Ramsav that Gal. ii. and Acts xv. cannot refer to the same visit of Paul to Jerusalem. But neither can he admit that Paul would pass by the visit of Acts xi. 30, xii. 25, or that Luke may have been mistaken in recording a visit then. He saves everything by making the visit of Gal. ii. a visit of which there is no trace in Acts, and by putting it before the famine visit. Thus it enables Paul to demonstrate to the Galatians that he was independent of the twelve Apostles before he set out to evangelise them (p. 62). Mr. Bartlet argues that the expression κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν, in Gal. ii. 2, falls in with this. The revelation in question is the Christian truth, at that time borne in upon Paul's mind, that in Christ Jesus there is neither Greek nor Jew; it is with this truth, which is the presupposition of a universal gospel, in his mind, that he goes to Jerusalem; and it is after he has won for it the recognition of the "pillars" that he starts on his Gentile mission. There is something in this not quite natural. The context rather suggests that by κατά ἀποκάλυψιν Paul means that he went to Jerusalem under a divine impulse, as opposed to going because he was summoned by his superiors. this case the divine impulse itself would be the content of the revelation, not the great Christian truth for which Paul is supposed to bespeak recognition at head quarters. And this suggests that the visit of Gal. ii. was one in which it might plausibly be asserted that Paul had been officially summoned to Jerusalem: in other words, that it was a visit of the same character as that described in Acts xv. After all that has been written, one may see no insuperable difficulty in taking Acts xv. and Gal. ii. as records of the same proceedings. Here, too, modern analogies are abundant,

and Acts xi. 30 may be a slip of Luke's, or an occasion when Paul saw no Apostles at all. Mr. Bartlet, of course, makes Galatians the earliest of the epistles; it may have been written when Paul was en route for Jerusalem, and, much as he wished to revisit his converts, could not desert the key of the situation.

For the rest of the Apostle's life, Mr. Bartlet follows Acts closely. He brings out more clearly than was once customary how much of Jewish piety was natural to Paul and could be practised by him in spite of his spiritual emancipation, and he follows Dr. Hort in emphasising his desire to maintain the spiritual unity of Christendom by keeping up constant and charitable relations between his Gentile converts and the mother church at Jerusalem. The treatment of the Corinthian troubles is an excellent example of Mr. Bartlet's candid and delicate manipulation of difficulties. He thinks Paul wrote a passionate letter to Corinth after our first epistle, but that it is not to be identified with cc. x-xiii of our second. He thinks the sinner of I Cor. v., and the man who outraged Paul, may be one and the same, though the sin of I Cor. v. and the offence or wounding of Paul were not the same thing. Mr. Bartlet holds strongly that Paul's first imprisonment terminated fatally, and that the Book of Acts is expressly intended to suggest this. He puts his case here with unusual impressiveness, but by means of a partition theory he succeeds in eking out our imperfect knowledge of the Apostle's later days with scraps from the pastoral epistles. "A large Pauline basis at least," he holds, underlies each of these letters, "including all the personal matter". The hypotheses by which he provides situations for I Timothy and Titus are neither better nor worse than such things usually are (pp. 180 ff.); their weakness is that they take no account of the unknown. Mr. Bartlet has a sympathetic appreciation of Paul's religious experience and of his theology, in chapter iii. of his fourth book; but it may be questioned whether there is not in it both an excess and a defect. Is it not excessive to say that "before his (Paul's) advent there is no sign that any one had learned to see glory in the Cross?" Paul says

that he himself received as the common tradition of Christianity what he also preached—that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures (I Cor. xv. 3): is there any other glory in the Cross than this? And if we observe in the earliest pre-Pauline Christian preaching the constant reference of Isaiah liii. to Jesus, can we doubt that this glory was well enough understood by the first Christians? The defect has reference to Paul's doctrine of the law. (Paul's) experience of the Law as a code of divine injunctions -unable to inspire and justify, able only to condemn-and the lot of Messiah Himself at the hands of the guardians of the law as a letter (italics ours) converged on one point—death by it, and so to it." When Paul defines the death of Christ in relation to the law, it is not in relation to the law as a letter administered or rather abused by bad men; it is in relation to the law as the holy will of God under which the doom of sin is death. "The hands of the guardians of the law as a letter" have no significance for Paul; nothing bad men could do could ever change his relation to the law of God. We cannot imagine him saying, I am done with the law, for it has had its inevitable issue in the greatest crime of history; what he does say is, Right has been done to the law at last by the Son of God, in that He has borne our sins by dying for them; He has fulfilled the law as it was binding not only on men but on sinful men, and therefore those who are in Him are under law no more. It was not the act of the Sanhedrim, any more than of the centurion and his men, it was the act of God and of Christ by which Paul was redeemed from the law. It is possibly a misapprehension of the same sort as the first when Mr. Bartlet gives Paul the exclusive credit of the deep mystical thoughts which he attaches to baptism in Rom. vi. Paul no doubt loads the Sacraments, so to speak, with his gospel; each of them is a symbol or vehicle of the whole of Christianity as he understood it; but the words about the Supper in Mark and Matthew indicate an apprehension of it in wide circles, to which he can hardly have contributed, and which is essentially one with his own.

The second book opens with an excellent and most useful chapter on Judaism and the empire, and then reviews Christianity generally, from 62 to 70, using as sources the epistle to the Hebrews, I Peter, the Didaché (the early part of which Mr. Bartlet refers to circa A.D. 50), Jude and 2 Peter (which may be genuine except ii. 1—iii. 13), and the Logia. epistle of James, assigned to the Lord's brother, and dated between A.D., 44 and 49 has been utilised in the previous book, with a confidence somewhat surprising to a reader familiar with the arguments for a much later date. With regard to this second book, which abounds in isolated points of interest, one is conscious of a certain want of proportion. Reference is indeed made to early written Gospels, and to the origin of our Mark and Matthew, but surely the Synoptic Gospels, even as we have them, throw a much steadier and more certain light upon the period than the Didaché and the Oxyrhynchus Logia. No doubt for some of those who will use this book, the Didaché and the Logia are much less accessible than the evangelists; but to devote some forty pages to them in a work on the Apostolic Age, in which the canonical Gospels are hardly utilised at all, strikes one as almost an intellectual perversity. When every critical abatement has been made, the substance of our synoptic Gospels must have been the substance of all Christian teaching; and, therefore, of all Christian intelligence in the Apostolic Age; and it is perhaps the chief defect of Mr. Bartlet's admirable work, that a preoccupation with new but inconsiderable facts, and novel but insecure combinations of them, has led him to do less than justice to this obvious but fundamental truth.

The sources for the third period, extending from A.D. 70 to about 100 are the epistle of Barnabas, which Mr. Bartlet puts confidently between A.D. 70 and 79; the Apocalypse, on which he has a suggestive essay; the writings of Luke, which are interpreted in this connection from the political point of view—Acts (to put it briefly) being a protest, based on an appeal to the primitive history of Christianity, against such mutual relations of the Church and the Empire

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as are revealed in the Apocalypse: the epistles and the Gospel of John, all of which are regarded as of the same authorship with the Apocalypse; and, as already mentioned, the epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians. All of this is instructive, but what will be read with the liveliest interest is the chapter on "The Churches of Asia" and the writings of John. "John's position at Ephesus in the closing decade of the first century, and this alone, seems to clear up the innumerable problems of the fourth Gospel" (p. 525). The great difficulty in the way of ascribing such a book to an immediate follower of Jesus is met in the sentence, "The Iohannine mode of thought, then, is not speculative but mystical". This distinction is relevant in regard to the epistles and to the body of the Gospel; but it may be questioned whether it is relevant in regard to the prologue. The idea of the Logos is certainly speculative rather than mystical; and the use which is made of it in the prologue, to define the relation of the revelation of God made in Christ to all earlier revelations in nature, conscience and history, and to subordinate all being and life to the Word Incarnate, is certainly a speculative use. John's Logos is not that of Philo or of the Stoics, but unless he had felt that there were points of contact and affinity between the truth as he had it in Jesus and the truth which Philo and the Stoics were reaching out to in this term, he could never have used it in the intellectual environment of his time. Christianity had to become speculative if it was to coalesce with human intelligence; what harm is there in supposing that the process was initiated in the Apostolic Age, and even by an Apostle?

The only regret one has about the fourth book is its brevity. It is in treating of the Sacraments, the organisation and discipline of the Church, and types of doctrine, that the fruit of study in this period is gathered—especially for the present distress. Mr. Bartlet's results seem to the present writer entirely sound: even more emphasis might have been laid on the idea that words like "ordination" are an anachronism in the Apostolic Age. The earlier books,

however, ought to put the reader in a position to appreciate his New Testament with a zest and precision unknown before; and no one could do a more genuine service to the Church. In the dogmatic sense, of course, there was no New Testament then, and Mr. Bartlet shows great skill in conveying a distinct impression of this without once asserting it; but it is through the New Testament, nevertheless, that primitive Christianity must ever be known, and propagate itself in the world; and it is the signal merit of this book that it is an enlightening and stimulating companion to the New Testament, which every one may read.

JAMES DENNEY.

# Gleanings in Holy Fields.

By Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 252. Price 3s. 6d.

#### Leaves from the Tree of Life.

By Alexander Maclaren, D.D. London: Isbister & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 293. Price 5s.

# The History of the English Bible, and how it has come down to us.

By Rev. W. Burnet Thomson, M.A., B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Pp. 104. Price 6d.; cloth 8d.

DR. MACMILLAN modestly describes his book as "gleanings even among the sheaves," but readers will find this harvest of a quiet and observant eye, both abundant and well saved. The book consists of twenty-one chapters, each of which deals with some interesting by-path of Bible study. The teaching of these is admirably gathered up into direct and striking applications.

The aim of the book is to take "the fifth gospel"—the scenery, manners and customs of the Holy Land—as the interpreter of the obscurer parts of scripture. An unfamiliar, perhaps an unprofitable, looking text is taken, and replaced in its appropriate setting—topographical or archæological, and all with so much deftness and grace, that one feels, here at last is the perfect example of Biblical illustration. It is apt and unhackneyed.

Most of the topics lie out of the ordinary beaten track of the Biblical expositor, and they possess an intrinsic interest quite apart from the practical reflections they invite. These are suggestive in the highest degree, and are set forth with the charm of diction and imagination that makes the author's style not only luminous but fascinating.

"The Shells of the Sea of Galilee" introduces a paper on the historical and religious significance of the Lake as the cradle of Christianity. "The shell is held to the ear, and we hear the murmur of all the centuries of Christian civilisation in its depths." "The Dew of Hermon" is a devotional study in aspiration and sacrifice, and "The Mistletoe of Bethlehem" points the warning against parasitism in religion. "The Kiblah Point"—the direction of Mecca—which is used to illustrate the significance of Daniel praying with his face towards Jerusalem, gives occasion for a fine discourse on what one might call the "orientation" of the soul in prayer. "The Golden Wedge of Achan" and "The Bells of the Horses" are studies in Old Testament archæology.

There are chapters on Damascus, Capernaum and Shiloh, and a vivid description of a visit to Jericho. Dr. Macmillan found the shadow of "the unspeakable Turk" resting heavy on the old frontier town, but were that shadow dispelled, he ventures to prophesy that "'Go to Jericho' would be the most benignant advice that a man could proffer to his friend". The book concludes with a sketch of the convent of Mar Saba, in the heart of the desert of Judea. Its contributions to hymnody, and its famous men-Cosmas, John of Damascus and St. Stephen the Sabaite, author of "Art thou weary" -are appreciatively described. Dr. Macmillan has been very successful in reproducing the local colour and associations of the place, and leaves a very distinct and vivid impression of the little community of ecclesiastical Socialists, for whom, ultimately, alas! "the Sin of Accidie" proved too strong. This is a delightful book, interesting to the scholar and full of points for the preacher. It sets a standard for books of Biblical illustration.

Those who have long wished for a book of selections, giving the gems of Dr. Maclaren's sermons, will find their wish realised in this volume. There are forty-nine of them here; not bald extracts, but fully-developed passages, giving,

and often very felicitously, the exegesis, plan and development of sermons that need no commendation. "Demetrius hath the witness of all men and of the truth itself."

All the old favourites that live in the memory—apt title and memorable phrasing—the delight and despair of the preacher, are here. It is a distinct service to have in this convenient and seemly form the gist of a great preacher's message to his age. Those who have former volumes will get this one also, for one feels it does for Maclaren of Manchester what Arnold aimed at for Wordsworth, "to exhibit the body of his best work, to clear away obstructions from around it, and to let it speak for itself".

There are, besides, many busy men who feel it a matter of some difficulty to find a book, at once devotional and thoughtful, for the quiet moments of a too occupied life. Let them lay this book and their heart together. It will give them leisure from themselves, and the practice of the presence of God.

This scholarly primer will betwarmly welcomed. It is the cheapest and most complete guide to the story of the Bible hitherto published. There have been in recent years several histories of the English Bible, but this book is better than its modest title, for it is a thoroughly up-to-date and remarkably lucid introduction both to the history and the textual criticism of Scripture.

One has often wished to find a book that might usefully be put into the hands of young people for private study and as the basis of class instruction, giving the salient points in the growth and making of the Bible. This primer supplies the long felt want.

In successive chapters, it deals with the Hebrew Bible under Scribes and Massoretes, with the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the LXX. The sections on the Greek Testament, the various readings, and the canons of criticism affecting them are models of well-informed and careful exposition. The history of the English Bible from Caedmon to the Revised Version is told with taste and discrimination, and leaves

nothing to be desired in interest and accuracy. A frontispiece gives a remarkably clear facsimile of the Codex Sinaiticus, of a palimpsest of the Codex Porphyrianus, and a facsimile of Matt. xii. 10-15 in Tyndale's first Testament.

This book will be a great acquisition to those who wish to find a fresh and stimulating course of study for Bible Classes. Its arrangement and teachable style will commend it alike to teacher and to pupil.

W. M. GRANT.

### Aus Posens und Polens kirchlicher Vergangenheit.

Dr. Eugen Borgius. Berlin, 1898. 8vo, pp. iv. + 129.

# Lasciana nebst den ältesten Evang. Synodalprotokollen Polens 1555-61.

Herausgegeben und erläutert von D. Hermann Dalton. Berlin, 1898. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 575.

# History of the Christian Church, A.D. 1517-1648. Third volume. Reformation and Counter-reformation.

By the late Dr. Wilhelm Moeller. Edited by Dr. G. Kawerau. Translated from the German by J. H. Freese, M.A., Late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 476. Price 15s.

THESE first two volumes, of which Dalton's is much the larger, form a noteworthy contribution to the history of the Church in Poland. The first travels over a considerable amount of well-known ground in connection with the Church in Poland. Christianity came to Poland through Bohemia as far back as the latter half of the tenth century. We are reminded in this volume, among much that is interesting, that the Reformation also came to Poland through Bohemia. Further, the Bohemian brethren, driven into exile in 1548. found a home in Poland, and in return brought the doctrines of Luther and the well-grounded principles of the Reformation. In its first days in Poland, the Church was bitterly persecuted, as by Sigismund I.; but the truth spread. Many of the younger Poles had come under the personal and magnetic influence of Luther. By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Reformation was established in Poland. Of the

later history of the Polish Church, it is sufficient to refer to the troubles of the Protestants in the first half of the seventeenth century. Not till 1772 was religious toleration afforded them.

Dr. Dalton's volume is the third of a history of the evangelical churches in Russia. Two parts have already appeared: one in 1887 and the other in 1889. The present volume deals with the Polish Church in Reformation times. and specially with the remarkable figure of John à Lasco. Students of the life of Lasco have already been deeply indebted to the labours of Hermann Dalton. They are here presented with a number of fresh and interesting details. prefixed to a collection of Lasco's correspondence. career of John à Lasco deserves such minute detail as is here lavished on it. It was a career of the most varied character. John à Lasco was the Knox of Poland, and indeed both lives travel on curiously parallel lines. evangelical faith obliged him to leave his Fatherland. 1550 we find him in England, deep in the confidence of Cranmer. Shortly after, we find him at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, pastor to a mixed congregation of Protestant refugees. In 1556, his countrymen recalled him as the one strong man who should help them in a national crisis. He died in 1560, but not till he had seen the Reformation established in Poland, and something done to give the people the Bible in their own tongue and to bring together the Lutherans and the Reformed who in Poland, as elsewhere, by their bitter controversy did so much to retard the progress of the Reformation. A national council had been demanded in 1555, and in the second part of Dalton's volume we have the records of the synods from 1555 to 1561. There is thus in this volume a mass of reliable information which no student of the life of John à Lasco or the history of the Polish Church can overlook.

The earlier volumes of the translation of Moeller's history have been already noticed in this review. Consequently, the volume before us does not call for extended notice. This is the third volume of Moeller's masterly work, and deals exhaustively with the Reformation period. In a preliminary note it is pointed out that the editor of the history, Dr. G. Kawerau has to be regarded as "mainly responsible for the present instalment". The volume before us does not fall behind its predecessors. It is marked by lucidity, conciseness of statement, wealth of detail, and impartiality of judgment. The editor's motto, indeed, has been the exhortatation of Luther, "intrepidly to write what is true". This is the sort of book which a student rejoices over. It is scientific and practical; it is comprehensive, deep and clear. A comparison with Kurtz is inevitable. Both manuals are thoroughly good; but probably the student will find Moeller's the more useful.

W. BEVERIDGE.

#### Notices.

Two volumes of very special interest are added to the series of historical monographs known by the title of "Heroes of the Reformation". The series is an attractive one, and the editor, Professor Samuel Macauley Jackson of New York University, is to be congratulated on the success of his labours thus far. The two volumes now before us have Philip Melanchthon 1 and Desiderius Erasmus 2 as their subjects. They are both excellent pieces of work, which have cost care and pains at once in the matter of historical investigation and in the art of composition. They are well written, and contain many passages of vivid description or telling charac-They have the additional charm of numerous terisation. illustrations. There are thirty-six of these in the volume on Melanchthon, and thirty-five in that on Erasmus. Most of them are effective, not a few of them are of peculiar interest. They are representations not only of the leading personages themselves, but of their surroundings and belongings, their homes, the cities with which they were connected, the titlepages of their books, etc. Nor are these volumes mere popular reproductions of the scholarly inquiries of others. Both authors have gone to the works of the men themselves for most of their material, and furnish the authorities on which they base their statements. The picture which Professor Richard gives us of Melanchthon seems to us to be a re-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Philip Melanchthon, the Protestant Preceptor of Germany. By James William Richard, D.D., Professor of Homiletics, Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1898. Pp. xv. + 399. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. By Ephraim Emerton, Ph.D., Winn Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Harvard University. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1899. Pp. xxvi. + 469. Price 68.

markably faithful one. He presents Philip as he lived and moved, the clear-headed, well-balanced, keen-sighted scholar and unrivalled teacher, conciliatory and disposed to lean on stronger natures, yet capable of firmness and independence when occasion required. Professor Emerton has done equally well with Erasmus. His task is a particularly difficult one, and no one will see more clearly than himself that the ideal Life of the many-sided Dutchman has still to be written. But within the limits prescribed for him by the plan of this series he has made a considerable contribution to that. He has given us a weighty estimate of the work of the great Humanist in relation to the Reformation movement, and a picture of the man himself in which the grave defects of his character are by no means hidden. Now and again we come upon telling sentences like this: "His real, permanent and persistent interest was his own self-culture—not in any narrow or mean sense, but that he might be equal to the great demands he was preparing to make upon himself". Careful use is made of Erasmus's letters and writings, and valuable digests are given of his chief works.

The Rev. D. Butler gives an interesting sketch of *Henry Scougal*.<sup>1</sup> It is intended to follow up his volume on *John Wesley and George Whitefield in Scotland*, and was suggested by it. There the author's object was to exhibit the influence of the Oxford Methodists on Scottish religion. Here his object is to show how the leaders of the Oxford Methodist Movement were influenced by the Professor of Divinity in King's College, Aberdeen, who is best known as the author of *The Life of God in the Soul of Man*. It seems to us that Mr. Walker does more than the facts bear out when he claims for Henry Scougal the distinction of being the real inspirer of the English movement, and pronounces it to be "more than probable" that Charles Wesley got the idea of his Oxford Society from Aberdeen. Be this as it may, the fact remains

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, or the Influence of a Religious Teacher of the Scottish Church. By the Rev. D. Butler, M.A., Abernethy, Perthshire. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 151. Price 2s. 6d.

that the Methodist leaders knew and valued Scougal's treatise and owed something to it. This is well brought out by Mr. Walker, who at the same time gives us an attractive picture of the man and a careful appreciation of his work. Henry Scougal is a man who deserves to be better known than he is. His place is among the notable divines of the north-east of Scotland. He did much in a very brief life, and left behind him a remarkable name for devoutness as well as for capacity. Mr. Butler's account of Scougal's career and influence is by no means too long. It is written with skill and good taste, and deserves a cordial welcome.

The Textbibel 1 which has been prepared by a number of well-known scholars under the general editorship of Professor Kautzsch of Halle, is now in the hands of the public. It appears in two different issues, one with and another without the Apocrypha. It includes Weizsäcker's admirable translation of the New Testament in its last and best edition, which also is to be had separately in the same size of volume.2 The Apocryphal books of the Old Testament include only those found in Luther's Bible, and are given in the text followed by Professor Kautzsch and his colleagues in their Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments. The whole project originated in the success of the former work, Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments, for which also Professor Kautzsch, with the help of ten collaborateurs, was responsible. The object of the present volume is to give to the ordinary German reader all the benefits of the former work without any of its technicalities. It puts the German public in possession of a version of the whole Bible which

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Textbibel des alten und neuen Testaments, in Verbindung mit zahlreichen Fachgelehrten herausgegeben. Von Dr. E. Kautzsch, Professor der Theologie in Halle a. S.; Das neue Testament in der Ueberzetzung von Dr. C. Weizsäcker in Tübingen. Ausgabe A, mit den Apokryphen des alten Testaments. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. 1139+212+288. Price M.10.50. Bound M.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Das neue Testament in der Ueberzetzung von Carl Weizsäcker. Grossoctav-Ausgabe, 1899. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 282. Price M.2.40.

brings the humblest reader abreast of the results of the best scholarship of the day, so that he may feel assured that he has his Bible as it actually is. The editor and his colleagues in this important enterprise, Professors Baethgen, Guthe, Kamphausen, Kittel, Löhr, Marti, Rothstein, Rüetschi, Ryssel, Siegfried and the late Professor Socin, have done a distinguished service to the German people which deserves the most cordial and grateful acknowledgment. Most especially will the merit of their work be recognised in their

rendering of the poetical and prophetical books.

The subject of the twenty-ninth Fernley Lecture, delivered in London, July, 1899, by Thos. F. Lockyer, B.A., is given as The Evangelical Succession, or the Spiritual Lineage of the Christian Church and Ministry.\(^1\) The lecture, as it appears in published form, is an argument against the theory of Apostolical Succession. But it does not attempt any reasoned refutation of that theory, neither does it go into a detailed examination of the grounds on which it is affirmed. What it attempts is to exhibit the alternative truth in its own intrinsic reasonableness and superiority. It discourses, therefore, on such topics as law, priesthood, sacrifice, the remission of sins, the righteousness of faith, etc., bringing out their evangelical meaning and worth. There is nothing novel in the book, nor anything very profound. It is a popular statement, such as no doubt well served the purposes of a public address.

Anything that comes from the hand of the venerable Professor F. Godet, an acknowledged master in New Testament criticism and exegesis, is sure of a cordial and appreciative reception. He is one to whom all students of the New Testament owe much, and one from whom they rejoice to get the rich fruits of his honoured age. The third livraison of his Introduction to the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelley, 1899. 8vo, pp. 154. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Introduction au Nouveau Testament. Par F. Godet, Docteur en Théologie, Professeur a la Faculté de l'Église Independante de Neuchâtel. Introduction Particulière. II. Les Évangiles et les Actes des Apôtres. Première Partie. Les Trois Premiers Évangiles. 3<sup>me</sup> Livraison. Neuchâtel: Attinger, 1899. 8vo, pp. 325+442.

deals with Mark's Gospel, and examines with the author's accustomed acuteness and rare felicity of style the usual critical and historical questions. The second gospel is taken to have been written most probably at Rome, and to have been meant for Roman readers. In support of this destination particular use is made of the description of Simon of Cyrene (chap. xv. 21) as "the father of Alexander and Rufus". The question of the integrity of xvi. 9-20 is discussed at length. This, we must confess, is the least satisfactory part of the work. The reasons given on page 413 for a return to the traditional view are not of much weight. There are other things, however, that will repay consideration. The account which is offered, e.g., of the sources of the gospel, is that they include the general oral apostolic tradition; this tradition also as reproduced specially by Peter; something of Mark's own; and perhaps certain recollections of the Apostle John communicated orally to Mark.

We are very glad to have an earlier portion of Professor Godet's Introduction in an English translation, viz., the section dealing with the Collection of the Four Gospels and the Gospel of St. Matthew. This part is of special interest for the early date (A.D. 60-66) to which the author assigns Matthew's Gospel, and for the way in which he reconciles the discordant traditions. He supposes that the work first composed by Matthew was a collection of discourses only; that this Aramaean writing was specially translated into Greek and completed by a narrative of the ministry of Jesus; that no Aramaean Gospel intermediate between the collection of Logia and our canonical Matthew is required; and that our canonical gospel was called that of Matthew because it contained the Logia, and by reason of the influence that the Apostle exercised on "the form of the apostolic narrative" in it. The translation is by the hand of Mr. Affleck and reads admirably.

We have received an edition of The Five Theological Orations

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Authorised Translation from the French. By William Affleck, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 272. Price 6s. net.

of Gregory of Nazianzus, prepared for the series of Cambridge Patristic Texts by Professor A. T. Mason, D.D., the general editor of this useful series, a useful and welcome book, with a carefully edited text, a valuable introduction, and numerous scholarly notes; a small volume called God's Forget-Me-Nots,2 by the Rev. A. A. Cooper, M.A., containing a series of brief, pointed, picturesque addresses to young people, attractive in style and bearing some suggestive titles-" Watching the Headline," "Half-way to Jungle," etc.; an exposition of The First Epistle to the Thessalonians, by Principal G. W. Garrod, following the same plan as his former volume on the Epistle to the Colossians, giving a very full analysis of the epistle and a series of useful and scholarly notes-all done with conspicuous care and in a way that will make the book useful not only for college purposes, but for general reading; three sermons under the general title of Holy Ground, preached by Rev. J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., in Westminster Abbey, in connection with the South African war, giving some simple but opportune and patriotic counsels on hope, consolation and responsibility, suitable to the present circumstances of the country; a volume by Prebendary Grane on the Hard Sayings of Jesus Christ,5 which, without going very profoundly into any of the difficulties in view, deals in a practical and often helpful way with certain words of our Lord (those, e.g., on hating father and mother, making friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, etc.) which a pastor sometimes finds to be misunderstood by members of his flock or a cause of trouble to them; a volume of a larger order by Dean Farrar,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 212. Price 5s. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>London: Elliot Stock, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 164. Price 2s. 6d. net.

London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. 39. Price 1s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Study of the Mind and Method of the Master. By William Leighton Grane, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester and Rector of Bexhill-on-Sea. London: Macmillan & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv.+212. Price 58.

Texts Explained, or Helps to understand the New Testament,1 another testimony to the dean's wonderful diligence and versatility, a book which takes up the various New Testament writings seriatim, noticing every passage which calls for special remark as obscure, of difficult interpretation, or popularly misunderstood, and offering explanations—a book which, however doubtful some of the opinions expressed and interpretations offered may be, is rich in suggestive remark and helpful in a high degree to the more intelligent study of the New Testament; A Free Inquiry into the Origin of the Fourth Gospel,2 by P. C. Sense, M.A., an elaborate but mistaken attempt to connect the Fourth Gospel with Cerinthus, defective in its scholarship, confident to the point of audacity in many of its statements, not without cleverness certainly, but proceeding on the most curious ideas of what makes historical proof (the great discovery of the true authorship, e.g., turns on the discovery of the substitution of the word "dove" for "water" in John, xix. 34), and mixing up with its proper argument all kinds of incongruities about bishops' salaries, our judicial courts, companies Acts, etc.

The exhaustive study of the Greek verbal in -TEO by Mr. Charles Edward Bishop is continued in the American Journal of Philology, vol. xx., 2. The "philosophic" origin of the τὸ ποιητέον is contested, and, as against Struve, it is held that the "normal position and use of the verbal is predicative, and predicative only".

In the fifth number of the fourth volume of the Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses, M. J. Turmel gives the third of his elaborate series of studies on "Angelology," dealing with the ideas regarding the creation, specific distinction and perfections of angels, that have been held since the time of Dionysius. M. Henri Margival continues his account of "Richard Simon," taking up his last works and specially the Defence of Tradition and the Fathers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury, etc. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxv.+356. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii. +456. Price 7s. 6d.

The fourth part of the second volume of the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,¹ edited by Professor Achelis of Bremen, contains much good matter. Among other things we have a particularly interesting paper by Professor Kohlbach of Kaposvár on the "Mythology and Cultus of the old Hungarians".

The third part of volume xviii. of the Analecta Bollandiana issued by Carolus de Smedt, Josephus de Baeker and other presbyters of the Society of Jesus, is to hand. It contains among other things the "Acta Græca" of David, Symeon, and George of Mitylene, admirably printed and carefully edited; and a short paper on the birthplace of Jerome, dealing with an inscription published in 1882 and another belonging to the Museum of Spalato, by which the writer thinks we can fit the locality more exactly. The fourth part devotes a good many pages to a statement of the results of archæological research in Istria and Dalmatia in their bearings on the Hagiology of those parts.

Dr. Murray Mitchell is one of our veteran missionaries, full of years and honour. His interest in all that concerns the evangelisation of the Indian people is as intense as ever, and his pen retains its skill. A cordial reception will be given to the recollections of his early missionary life, which he gives to the public under the title of In Western India.<sup>2</sup> The book is full of interest and presents a very vivid picture of what things were and how the preaching of the Gospel made its way in Western India more than half a century ago. It is a record of faithful and fruitful work, honourable alike to the writer and to the wife to whom the book is appropriately dedicated.

We are indebted to Dr. Arthur H. Smith for a volume on Village Life in China<sup>3</sup> which is full of information. Dr. Smith is well entitled to write on such a subject. He has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh, Williams & Norgate. Price of yearly volume, M.14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. +405. Price 5s. <sup>3</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 360. Price 7s. 6d.

had long experience in China, and he has a sincere respect for the Chinese people. He tells us much about the institutions, usages and public characters of the Chinese village, the ways of the boys and men, the girls and women, the monotony and vacuity of village life, the unstable equilibrium of the Chinese family, etc. He gives his book the sub-title of A Study in Sociology, and in accordance with that he says much that is of interest on the marriage and funeral customs of the villagers, their shops, theatres, schools, markets, fairs, loan societies and the like. He closes with a brief chapter on the regeneration of the Chinese village, and the necessity of applying to it the spiritual forces of Christianity, in which he recognises the sole agency sufficient for the purpose. The book is one well worth reading.

From the other side of the Atlantic we have received a scholarly treatise on The Doctrine of Saint John. It is a remarkably compact and precise statement. Brief as it is, it attempts to interpret the theology of St. John as a whole, and to give an exposition of it which will not only embrace all the great ideas but present them as a system. And it succeeds to a large extent in this. Mr. Lowrie does not embarrass us with details, but concentrates his strength on the task of exhibiting the unity of thought on the Johannine writings. After an introduction which explains concisely what Biblical theology is, what methods are proper to it, and what special problems belong to the Johannine theology in particular, he gives an excellent statement of the outstanding characteristics of the doctrine of St. John. Having done this he takes up his main subject and deals with it under a scheme which has the merit of simplicity, if not of scientific He arranges all the various elements in the Johannine teaching under these four heads—"God," "The Logos with God," "The Kosmos lying in Darkness," "The Life Manifested". The most difficult questions belong to the second of these divisions, and they are well handled. There

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An Essay on Biblical Theology. By Walter Lowrie, M.A., Mission Priest in the City Mission, Philadelphia. Longmans, Green & Co., New York, London and Bombay, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xx., 216. Price 5s.

are good statements, e.g., on John's use of the term Logos, his motive for the choice of it, and the ideas conveyed by it. The writer thinks that what was wanted was a name that would "designate Jesus according to His nature, and a substantial identification, not only with God in the abstract, but with the God of the Old Testament". He does not think we are entitled to say that John could have met this want only in one way. But he points out that the choice of a term for such a purpose was "narrowed by certain important considerations". For if the Apostle were the author, Semitic representations and not metaphysical Greek thought would be his source, while his habit of interpreting salvation in terms of revelation or manifestation would lead to the selection of a name in which that thought would have a large place. "This we see actually realised," thinks Mr. Lowrie, "in the choice of the term Logos or Word which was suggested, not by the poetical personification of the Old Testament, but by its simplest and most ordinary employment in the formula of prophecy ('the Word of the Lord came to me'), and in the creative fiat ('And he said-and it was so') as the word of power and as the word of revelation." The affinities between John's doctrine and Paul's, on the election of God, the Covenant people, the purpose and efficacy of Christ's death, the ministry of the Spirit, etc., are admirably expounded. The book altogether is a careful study and makes a very useful guide to the subject.

There is much good and varied matter in the third number of The Journal of Theological Studies. The opening paper by the Bishop of Edinburgh investigates the sense of the phrase, "Our Alms and Oblations". The Rev. F. R. Tennant contributes a suggestive article on the "Theological Significance of Tendencies in Natural Philosophy". There is an appreciative estimate of Dr. Hort by the Rev. T. B. Strong, and Dr. W. E. Barnes has a paper which deserves attention on "Ancient Corrections in the Text of the Old Testament". Messrs. Crum and Kenyon have something of interest to say on "Two Chapters of John in Greek and Middle Egyptian". There are also important Notes on the "History of Latin

MSS.," on the "Italian Origin of Codex Bezæ and Codex-1071," etc. Mr. Haverfield touches briefly on the  $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\circ i$  of Philippi, questioning the conjecture that the magistrates of Philippi bore the title  $\rho\tau\alpha tores$  (= $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\gamma\circ i$ ) instead of the usual duoviri.

The April issue of The Presbyterian and Reformed Review opens with a sensible discussion of the question of "Authority in Religion," by Professor Henry Collin Minton. Then follows a very learned article by Professor Benjamin Warfield of Princeton on "The Oracles of God". Its object is to bring together all the material available for determining the sense of the term  $\lambda \acute{o}\gamma \iota a$  as it appears in the New Testament. It is a very complete and instructive study. Professor Boyd writes on the "Composition of the Book of Ezra," and Professor Day has much to the purpose to say on "Theological Seminaries and their Critics". We have also a careful account of an old "Scottish Schoolman of the Seventeenth Century," viz., Dr. Robert Baron of St. Salvador's College, St. Andrew's, by the Rev. John Macpherson, and the usual variety of excellent reviews of books.

We welcome also the first issue of the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristenthums edited by Dr. Erwin Preuschen of Darmstadt, and published by the Rücker'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Giessen. The most interesting article in it is one by Professor Adolf Harnack entitled Probabilia über die Adresse und den Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes. It is a pleasing but somewhat fine-spun argument in behalf of Aquila and Prisca as the writers, or more exactly in behalf of Prisca's claim to be the author.

In the first part of the third volume of the Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, C. Fr. Lehmann gives some valuable notes on the history of religion in the Caucasus and Armenia.

### Record of Select Literature.

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- Duhm, B. Die poëtischen u. prophetischen Bücher des alten Testaments. Uebersetzungen in den Versmassen der Urschrift. II. Die Psalmen. Uebers. von. B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 222. M.2.50.
- DAHLE, L. Der Heidenmissionar des Alten Bundes. Der Prophet Jona, seine Person u. Zeit, seine Aufgabe u. Sendg. Aus dem Norweg. v. W. Wendebourg. Berlin: M. Warneck. 8vo, pp. xv. + 145. M.2.
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- PRÆTORIUS, F. Das Targum zu Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung. (In Hebr. Sprache). Berlin: Reuther & Reichard. 8vo, pp. xi. + 47. M.3.
- BUDDE, Karl. Religion of Israel to the Exile. London: Putnam's Sons. Cr. 8vo, pp. 248. 6s.
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#### The World and the Individual.

(Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen. First Series: The Four Historical Conceptions of Being.)

By Josiah Royce, Ph.D., Professor of the History of Philosophy in Harvard University. New York and London: Macmillan, 1900. Pp. xvi. +588. Price 12s. 6d. net.

No one interested in the problem common to philosophy and theology can afford to neglect this book. From a merely literary point of view it would be difficult to speak too highly of its merits. In method of treatment it is highly original. It abounds in suggestive and often brilliant reflections both on life and on literature. And the whole work is a sustained and consecutive argument designed to establish and expound an Idealistic interpretation of the world.

The most original feature in Dr. Royce's argument is the classification and examination of what he calls the "Four Historical Conceptions of Being". The problem of Being is commonly presented as an inquiry into the nature of reality. The question is: What is? For this Dr. Royce substitutes at the outset another question: What is the meaning of the ontological predicate itself? What do we mean when we say of anything that it is? To this question he finds four possible and actual answers; and these are his four historical conceptions.

The first conception is that of Realism, and may be best described—if a single word is wanted—by the word *independence*. When we say that a thing is, we mean that it is not dependent for its being upon anything else, and, especially, not dependent upon our observing it, or conceiving it, or thinking about it. The second conception is said to be

characteristic of Mysticism; and if one word is wanted to describe the author's view of it, perhaps the word indifference might serve. When reality is reached, when we can say of anything that it is, or has being, our own thought or idea merges with this being and is thus absorbed or annulled in its object. Being thus becomes the devourer of all distinctions, the destroyer of all definite quality, and indescribable except in negative terms. The third conception is that ascribed to Critical Rationalism, and may be expressed in the one word validity, giving the formula: "Whatever is valid is". And the fourth conception, which remains when the three former have been found wanting, is that of Idealism, which, according to the author, interprets the ontological predicate as signifying fulfilment of purpose or meaning.

Independence, indifference, validity, fulfilment of purpose: these are the four competing explanations of what is meant by the predicate is. The author is thus dealing with the proposition "it is". We must not inquire into the it. We have an idea and we ascribe being to it, or rather to its object. The "fundamental problem," as is implied throughout, though explicitly stated only in the last lecture (p. 431), is "that of the essential relation of idea and object". And the four historical conceptions of what is meant by saying that the object is are: (1), that it is independent of our idea of it; (2), that it absorbs or swallows up our idea and the self that has the idea; (3), that it is valid for our idea; and (4), that it is a fulfilment of the purpose or meaning of our idea.

We must note that the two former are negative definitions; and consequently when we apply either of them to the problem of the being of the universe, we put out of existence something that is a bit of the universe, namely, our idea. If the universe is independent of the idea of it, then we are putting out of the universe, out of being, something which nevertheless in some way is: so that there must be a larger reality than the universe, namely, this universe plus the idea of it. In this way Realism is made to refute itself; the argument touches, I think, the weak spot in theories, such

as that of Leibniz, which assume a number of ultimate and completely independent existences. But Dr. Royce spreads his Realistic net much wider to the inclusion of thinkers who represent different forms of Monism, such as Spinoza and the modern Naturalists. Yet it seems to me that they have a way of escape from the snare. For Spinoza, the finite intellect of man with its true idea of Substance, is not itself outside that one Substance: it is in Substance. The Whole, indeed, is independent, because there is nothing else. The idea which conceives it is a mode, a manifestation of itself. And for the Naturalists also the universe is a connected and interdependent whole. It is true that they are often driven to set aside consciousness altogether as a phenomenon which has no influence on the cause of the universe and may therefore be disregarded. But this setting aside of consciousness is more a matter of scientific convenience than a philosophical doctrine. According to the hypothesis of Epiphenomenalism, consciousness is a sort of bye-product which appears at a certain stage of nervous organisation. Even as a bye-product, therefore, it will be something, though comparable to the shadow of a house or the smell of a flower. The naturalist might accordingly assert being, in the final sense, only of the full reality of which consciousness is a part—though it may be so slight a part as to be negligable in all scientific reasonings. The universe would thus be recognised as not independent of it, because not complete without it, any more than it is independent of the rest of the universe. This theory then would not be Realism in Dr. Royce's sense of the term, nor would it belong to any of the other divisions in his classification. Dr. Royce's refutation of Realism is accordingly less complete than he takes it to be. He has overthrown, under the name of Realism, only those theories which assert absolute independence of some bit or bits of the universe. The important objections both to Spinozism and to Naturalism, in this connexion, seem to me to be, not that they do not admit consciousness into their conceptions of the universe, but that their explanations of it are inadequate. And Dr. Royce has not satisfactorily shown this inadequacy just because he has deliberately restricted his attention to the ontological *predicate*—to the "that" of things apart from the "what".

As an interpretation of philosophical and religious thought, the treatment of Mysticism is in a high degree novel and Mysticism is regarded as the antithesis of suggestive. Realism. It altogether denies reality to the separate beings dear to the Realist. They are but a vain shadow in the sunshine of the invisible One; and when we look upon that One our supposed independent being vanishes in its light. In knowing we also are, but we have lost our seeming independence, our individuality, our finitude even. There is no longer idea and object—subject and object even: I am it; or, in the words of the Upanishad often quoted by the author, "that art thou". Here then is the complete rebound from the Realist theory. Realism, asserting the many and their independence, failed by its inability to unify them. Mysticism, on the other hand, reaching the One, loses itself, and thus closes the way by which any pluralisation of that One can be conceived. It cannot explain experience—indeed, will not explain it—simply because for it experience has been absorbed in the ineffable, and there is nothing to explain.

The Third Conception of Being—that of Validity—is, unlike the two former, a positive conception. It is also the leading conception in a great deal of the most influential thought of this century. Dr. Royce calls it the conception of Critical Rationalism, and rightly traces its origin and influence to Kant. But it is more correct to say that Kant founded his view of Reality upon Validity than that he identified the two conceptions. This is clear from the part played by the validity-argument in the Critique of Practical Reason. There certain realities are held to be necessary for the moral life and therefore real. The modern statement of Critical Rationalism would omit these last words and substitute for them the words and herein consists their reality. The real is the valid.

In the validity conception we have J. S. Mill's doctrine of "permanent possibilities" largely extended. Mill restricted

it to our sensations. It may be extended to the whole range of our scientific conceptions, as in the theory of science put forward by Mach, and accepted by many philosophical scientists. Its application to conduct has given rise to a form of Ethical Idealism which really belongs to the validity type of theory. Finally, it has been applied with great thoroughness and applause to the religious consciousness, dismissing the old ontological theories and proofs, and substituting a doctrine of validity for religious experience.

The result of Dr. Royce's elaborate and powerful examination of this Third Conception is that it is true so far as it goes, but inadequate. What it fails to explain "is precisely the difference between the reality that is to be attributed to the valid truths that we do not get concretely verified in our experience, and the reality observed by us when we do verify ideas" (p. 260). The way is therefore left open for a fourth

and final conception of Being.

If the classification of the Four Historical Conceptions of Being were a complete statement of all the views concerning the ontological predicate which are logically possible, and if the preceding argument had shown the incorrectness or inadequacy of the first three conceptions, then the establishment of the Fourth Conception as the true view of Being would result. As I have tried to point out, however, the classification and reasoning fall short of completeness, and an independent argument for the necessity of the Fourth Conception is therefore required. Fortunately such an argument can be gathered from Dr. Royce's pages. own view is given in the words: "What is, presents the fulfilment of the whole purpose of the very idea that now seeks this Being. . . . What is, does in itself fulfil your meaning, does express in the completest logically possible measure the accomplishment and embodiment of the very will now fragmentarily embodied in your finite ideas" (p. 358). The terms of this statement may serve to bring out the way in which the Fourth Conception is arrived at and demonstrated. There is, first, the beginning made with an idea: then the notion of the meaning or purpose or will embodied in the idea; and, finally, the notion of the fulfilment or accomplishment of this meaning, purpose or will.

An idea then is defined as "any state of consciousness, whether simple or complex, which when present is then and there viewed as at least the partial expression or embodiment of a single conscious purpose" (pp. 22-3). An alternative definition is given as "any state of mind that has a conscious meaning" (p. 24). The term "meaning" is always used with a double significance, which may be described by the old words cognitive and volitional. "The facts of consciousness warrant, and indeed demand, this twofold interpretation. Whoever is possessed of any meaning, whoever faces truth, whoever rationally knows, has before his consciousness at once, that which possesses the unity of a knowing process, and that which fulfils a purpose, or in other words, that which constitutes what we have from the outset called an act of will as well as an act of knowledge" (pp. 433-4). Dr. Royce does well to protest against the sundering of knowing and willing, as if it were possible for knowledge to be purely passive or for volition to be entirely ignorant. His use in places of the term burbose rather than the term meaning is not meant to mark a difference, but to bring out the neglected aspect—the purposive aspect of ideas.

Ideas then involve meaning or purpose. Not merely their expressed content but their desired goal has to be taken into account. And the thesis is simply that Being is the attainment of this goal, the fulfilment of this purpose. The establishment of this thesis is carried out chiefly in the important lecture on the Internal and External Meaning of Ideas. The Internal Meaning is "the conscious inner purpose embodied in a given idea" (p. 308, cf. p. 25). But "finite ideas always undertake or appear to have a meaning that is not exhausted by this conscious internal meaning; . . . They at least appear to have that other sort of meaning, that reference beyond themselves to objects, that cognitive relation to outer facts, that attempted correspondence with outer facts, which many accounts of our ideas regard as their primary, inexplicable and ultimate character" (p. 26).

This is their external meaning. The discussion starts with the antithesis; but the aim is to show that the external meaning is "strictly continuous with the internal meaning, and is inwardly involved in the latter, or else that the idea has no external meaning at all" (p. 33). "Ideas really possess truth or falsity only by virtue of their own selection of their task as ideas," and this "is essentially the same as the consideration that led Kant to regard the understanding as the Creator of the phenomenal nature over which science gradually wins conscious control, and that led Hegel to call the world the embodied idea" (p. 32).

These passages indicate both the essence and the historical connexions of the author's creed. His originality lies in his emphasis on the purposive aspect of the idea; and in this we may trace the influence of Schopenhauer. But Kant is rather airily dealt with when made to say that the understanding is the creator of the phenomenal world. Kant's own statement is quite precise: "The understanding makes nature, but does not create it," that is, it makes it out of a given material. Kant indeed denies all form and law to this given material; and it was therefore inevitable that, in following out his view, some thinkers should see in nature simply the realisation of the idea, while others should go back upon his denial of all law and orderliness to presented material, and should look upon our reason as having to track out and interpret the meaning of a world whose meaning was not put there by our ideas. Of these divergent developments, the former emphasises and works with universal reason, while the latter starts with the reason of the individual thinker: though it does not need to deny-may, indeed, strenuously maintain—that in knowing the world the individual thinker shares the ideas of a creative reason to which his own claims affinity because able to think its thoughts.

Now Dr. Royce begins with the finite reason or will. "Any conscious act," he says, "is an idea" (p. 23); but he works towards the thesis that reality consists simply in the fulfilment of ideas. The argument is long, and carried out

with great force and brilliancy, so that no summary could do it justice. It is besides determined by the preceding examination of the validity-conception. This leads him to lay stress, first, upon the nature of judgment, and next, upon the definition of truth as correspondence between an idea and its object. In the former regard he follows recent logicians in maintaining that universal judgments are, in existential import, merely negative, and argues that particular judgments also fall short of the definiteness of individual being. He does not consider the case of impersonals or of the singular judgment, although these would seem to call for careful treatment in this connexion. He is more successful in maintaining that (as we may put it) experience is permeated by purpose. "Experience always means selected experience; it is experience lighted up by ideas" (p. 285). But the range of selection is not determined by finite ideas; and may it not also be the case that there are certain external conditions which influence its direction?

A further step is taken in the argument when the definition of truth as correspondence between idea and object comes up for examination. The author shows in a most interesting way the different kinds of correspondence which may all be equally valid. Likeness is only one kind of valid correspondence; one may have a true idea of a picture, without recalling its form and colours, if able to translate into language what the artist meant to convey by his painting. Again algebraic symbols have no resemblance to the objects they stand for, and yet correspond with them in a most exact and fruitful manner. The only test, therefore, of truthful correspondence is in terms of purpose. "The idea is true if it possesses the sort of correspondence to its object that the idea itself wants to possess" (p. 306). The idea "seeks its own. It can be judged by nothing but what it intends" (p. 325). If it fulfil its own intent it is true. It selects its own object, we may say (cf. pp. 326-7). Though still regarded as other than itself, the object is of its own making, its own construction.

Now let us reflect. In all this expository matter which

I have set forth, the meaning or purpose of my ideas has been to represent the course of thought in Dr. Royce's book. My manuscript is not at all like his printed page. But yet it may have a true correspondence with it. Now it would appear that, according to the view just stated, the truth of that correspondence is to be tested simply by its fulfilment of my own idea and intent. For myself I should not like to adopt this line of defence for the truth of my statements. I should be willing to listen to a correction of my statement, and to weigh impartially the grounds for it, as they may be presented to me by an intelligence which is quite beyond my control, and over which my own meaning and purpose may have no appreciable influence. I recognise a standard beyond my present conscious purpose, beyond my idea. And, in truth, Dr. Royce does the same. "What the idea always aims to find in its object," he says, "is nothing whatever but the idea's own conscious purpose or will, embodied in some more determinate form than the idea by itself alone at this instant consciously possesses" (p. 327). Here, in the clause which I have italicised, we may, I think, mark the transition from one view of the idea to another. To begin with, the idea is a "state of consciousness" (p. 22), "any conscious act" (p. 23), even "a conscious thrill" only. Now we find that the determinate form in which the idea fulfils itself is not "consciously possessed" by the idea. In what way can it be "possessed" if not consciously? Is the "state of consciousness" also a "state of unconsciousness"? It may be so; but we must be on our guard; for in modern philosophy, the "unconscious" serves the purpose which Hegel (I think) assigned to Berkeley's Infinite: it is the sewer into which all contradictions flow. But the "unconscious" is not Dr. Royce's fetish. Consciousness, not unconsciousness, is his final solution. And the above passage has been quoted as marking the spot where he takes the leap from the finite to the absolute consciousness or purpose.

It is impossible to follow out this question here with the completeness which it deserves. But I think it might be shown that when Being is defined as the fulfilment of purpose,

the only legitimate meaning which can be given to the doctrine is that Being is the fulfilment of the absolute purpose, or of a completely rational purpose. Indeed, this is the view sometimes expressed by the author, as when he says that "ideas, so far as rational, embody a purpose" (p. 441), when he characterises finite consciousness as both lacking in content—in need of other experiences—and vague regarding its own purposes (pp. 446-7), and when he says that it is the defect of finite ideas that we are always seeking another object than that which is now present (p. 348). "Of course," he says, "my private will, when viewed as a mere force in nature, does not create the rest of nature" (p. 334). I should have thought that, however you viewed it, his private will did not create the rest of nature.

The finite idea, being purposive, would seem unable ever to be more than the partial embodiment of its present purpose. "This possibility of other embodiment means for you just now simply the incompleteness or partial non-fulfilment of your present purpose" (p. 337). And it would appear that all finite ideas are of this nature, and therefore can never attain more than partial fulfilment, can never reach the individual. "What is, or what is real," he concludes, "is as such the complete embodiment, in individual form and in final fulfilment, of the internal meaning of finite ideas" (p. 339). And we may well question whether this internal meaning can be so completed without transcending the finitude and incomplete rationality of our present ideas. And if this is so, then Being is what we are always seeking but can never reach.

It has been pointed out that, in the course of the argument, the usage of the term "idea" broadens out beyond its original definition as a mere thrill, state, or act of consciousness. And this may suggest the question whether it was wise to make the term so fundamental in the argument without first inquiring into what is involved in having an idea. Dr. Royce will have nothing to do with the question of the cause of ideas. He seeks a more fundamental category than that either of substance or of causation. These are the traditional and

appropriate categories of Realism; and they are involved in its overthrow. But it may be suggested that this method of beginning with ideas is itself a legacy from Realism. The problem of modern philosophy was determined by the way in which Descartes set ideas between the Self and the World: and it is unfortunate when they alone are allowed to escape criticism. Nothing is more striking, in the language of the work before us, than the way in which ideas are spoken about as if they were self-conscious agents. Ideas are said to be true or false according to their own selection of their task (p. 32); the idea itself somehow truly learns to develop its own internal meaning (p. 33); the idea selects its object (p. 327); and phrases such as the idea intends this, wants that (pp. 306-7), desires to get something (p. 337), are scattered over almost every page of the book. And we read also of the "whole will of the idea" (p. 456), and even of the "individual life of the whole idea" (p. 339). Surely a most potent "thrill"! The question is whether this idea-morphism, if I may call it so, is or is not fundamentally intelligible, whether there is any meaning in an idea unless possessed by some conscious subject. Dr. Royce's method of exposition forces this question to the front and suggests a comparison of two very different ways in which, both in ancient and in modern times, an idealistic or spiritualistic interpretation of the universe has been vindicated.

Space has not been left to do more than refer to the elaborate supplementary essay on "the One, the Many, and the Infinite," with which Professor Royce has enriched this his first series of Gifford Lectures. It is a brilliant bit of work which will be read with admiration by all who are interested in pure metaphysical argument.

W. R. SORLEY.

### The Scientific Basis of Morality.

By G. Gore, LL.D., F.R.S. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1899. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 600. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

# Philosophy of History: An Introduction to the Philosophic Study of Politics.

By Alfred H. Lloyd. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1899. Pp. 250.

As there are three ultimate categories of thought, God, man, the world—so there are three systems of things: one of these is theocentric, making God the centre of all; one is anthropocentric, making man the centre of all; the other is geocentric, making the earth the centre.

In Christian theology the two former systems of thought are always found intermingling; sometimes the theocentric system prevailing over the anthropocentric system, as in the Mediæval Church; and sometimes the reverse, as in the reaction of the Reformation—man's needs and destiny occupying a more important place in the thought of men than the nature, authority, revelation and attributes of God.

In recent times, owing to the progress and beneficent work of science, the geocentric system or mode of thought has become prominent, and has tended to supplant the other two, men choosing to think that the physical world and its laws, or supposed laws, supply the key to human destiny and determine it.

Of this last tendency, the philosophical method is that called inductive. That method in its own sphere is sufficient and powerful. It is a proper mode of inference. It, however, now undertakes to govern the premises as well as to dictate the inferences. It limits the facts of nature to such as accord with

physical nature, or can be reached by its processes, and ignores the phenomena of consciousness and some facts of almost universal experience: it is overlooked that physical science covers but part of the field of knowledge and that when it makes exclusive claims its beneficient work is at an end.

The work before us is an illustration of this third class, or mode, of thought. It is a work of 600 somewhat closelyprinted pages to prove what naturalistic philosophers from the first have regarded as already proved by them. The science of ethics does not differ from the science of physics. Human nature and nature are not only alike subject to law, but to law of the same order. That nature is subject to law is here proved by a needless multiplication of instances, the writer apparently thinking that if examples in illustration or proof of this thesis are sufficiently multiplied they will make the other thesis less repugnant. It is, however, nowhere proved in this bulky volume that human nature is as our author assumes. The metaphysical difficulties that arise the moment human nature is fairly considered—difficulties which have occupied the thought of reflecting men since the story of philosophy began to be told-do not seem to have occurred to the mind of our author. There is something of truth involved in the metaphysical thinkings of men. The theory of a God has not ceased to be a rational theory; morals are not mechanics. Religion is not wholly and alone superstition, and the religious nature of man has not ceased to be a fact of human nature. Problems are not solved by being ignored. and one crucial point is not proved by abundant illustration of another.

The author has, I believe, distinction among the students of physical science, but he seems to me to present another illustration of the warping influence of too exclusive devotion to physical studies. I have found no evidence in the volume that the real problems of ethics and religion have seriously troubled the author's mind. It is, however, proper to say that there is much sober sense and practical wisdom in the conclusions concerning conduct reached towards the close of the argument; and if the highest morality can be attained

without religion, and if the second table of the law can be perfectly fulfilled while the first, in its essential feature, is ignored, the author may be as wisely listened to in the domain of ethical thought as in the domain of scientific fact. But are tremendous hypotheses.

Justin left his teacher of stoical philosophy because his teacher had nothing to tell him of the nature of God, for he knew nothing about it, and even regarded it as a useless piece of knowledge. I am reminded of this as I read the volume before me. I am reminded of much besides. There have been men taking active part in the conflict of the ages who have had no aspiration sufficiently lofty to lead them to appreciate religion. Such men have always failed to understand the great crisis that commonly gives birth to it. They have sometimes destroyed not only superstition but the very faculty of belief. This will explain why it is that to some Christianity does not present itself as worthy of more regard than the other beliefs that have prevailed amongst men. The stoical philosophy is ethical rather than metaphysical, and often commends itself on that account to the practical mind when there are no clouds about; but when the heart is broken more than a rule of life is required: that more religion, and supremely the Christian faith, gives.

The philosophy of history may be attempted from several points of view. With Buckle we may attempt to construct it on the basis of a sensational philosophy, using only the methods of physical science in the interpretration of historical phenomena. With Schlegel we may make our governing principle to be the image of God in man and its development, under a Divine and purposeful hand, towards the complete realisation of the ideal. Or with Hegel we may rest our scheme on à priori principles; and, instead of investigating facts and abiding by their teaching, we may stretch our facts to make them fit our theory. The writer whose work lies before us, shapes his scheme in the spirit at least of this last view.

He presents his subject in the following way: He first of all discusses what he terms the fundamental data of history, carefully analysing each of them. These are time, causation, nature, individuality and progress. In the second place we are called to the study of society and of the social evolution under the following heads: society itself; the double responsibility of society; the stages of society's activity; the process of society's alienation from itself; the process of society's restoration to itself and the progress of society. In the third place some special problems are considered with a view to the understanding of history. The chief are the following: the great man; the nature and function of evil; the conflict of the spiritual and the secular; the origin and justification of revolution.

The author does not labour to make himself "understanded of the people". He is abstract in thought, elaborate in style, and must often be read more than once in order to be apprehended. There is no sufficient reason for this in most instances, and hence these things must be set down as faults: yet it must be confessed that sometimes the obscurity arises from the circumstance that the author dares to soar into the heights of metaphysical speculation, apparently unaware of his remoteness from the ground where common mortals tread.

The author has an elaborate discussion on the nature of time, because, as he contends, fully to comprehend history one must know what time is. This is his starting-point, and the highly speculative position is maintained that time and space are ways or media through which differences are unified: they are physical forms of unification. Time is "an abstraction of some essential character in the sphere of the real". This conception becomes a governing principle with the author, whom it is difficult to follow.

There are many points of interest in the book for any who like to see thinking made difficult and not a few for ordinary folk: as where the author shows in his own way that society is an organism and where he discusses the social consciousness and the social will of organic society. The chapter on

the activity of society is interesting, ingenious and suggestive—so much may be said of it. This activity reveals three stages of evolution. In the first stage of the social evolution, society is at one with itself; the typical individual is the labourer. In the second stage, society is in alienation from itself; the typical individual is the soldier. In the third stage, society is restored to itself; the typical individual is the mechanic.

The author clearly recognises the difference between true and false, reality and semblance, and aims throughout to promote the best as he apprehends it, but the monism that says "The evil and the good are not two but one" has the general conviction of mankind against it. St. Paul's philosophy of history as written in his Epistle to the Romans has not been matched yet. Professor Lloyd might not unprofitably turn his thoughts to the systematic exposition of the Pauline conception of his subject.

R. VAUGHAN PRYCE.

#### La Morale Chrétienne.

Par A. Gretillat, Professeur (1894) de Théologie à la Faculté Indépendante de Neuchatel. Neuchatel: Attinger frères; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Tom. ii, 1899. 8vo, pp. 555. Price Fr.8.50.

The three divisions of M. Gretillat's treatise on Ethics were described in a former number of this Review (for January, 1899). They were the doctrine of the end of human life (de la destination normale de l'homme) or Teleology; the doctrine of man as a moral agent or (ethical) Anthropology; and the doctrine of duties (de la tâche morale de l'homme dans l'état actuel) or Ethology. These three departments of ethical theory may be described in language with which we are more familiar, as (1) Moral Philosophy or the Metaphysic of Ethics, (2) Ethical Psychology, and (3) Applied Ethics. The first—the doctrine of the End—was the main subject of M. Gretillat's first volume, formerly reviewed. The present volume concludes the inquiry into the moral nature of man, and develops the doctrine of actual duties.

In his psychology of Ethics, the late professor was chiefly concerned with the question of Freedom. He was a whole-hearted advocate of Self-determination as a postulate of moral responsibility. The manner in which he conceived of self-determination may be best indicated by a summary of the positions argued for in the latter part of the volume that appeared a year ago. These are as follows: (1) We find a certain physical and psychical nature given to the Ego; this presides over the first exercise of liberty of choice or free-will, and serves, so to speak, as its cradle. This is the phase of passivity. (2) Liberty of choice first comes to birth in the bosom of the nature which is thus given, and

which is of itself a matter of necessity. The germ of freedom is mere self-consciousness (le moi se pose) and the self determines itself first under the elementary forms of sympathy or antipathy towards the not self, sentiments accompanied by acts of receptivity or of reaction. Here we have a phase still marked by the predominance of the non-Ego over the Ego. (3) Liberty of choice, at first thus merely "receptive" or "reactive," becomes creative or productive with respect to the subject itself in so far as it modifies the primitive temperament and transforms it into character; that is to say, human nature determines itself as moral nature for the first time in a sense of "good" and "evil". This is the moment when the subject determines itself. (4) This moral nature, determining itself constantly in the initial direction it has taken, produces acts always more congenial to itself and leaving less room and opportunity for new vicissitudes or contrary determinations. Here the element of necessity is again apparent in the law of progressive self-determination. (5) The moral nature at last fixes itself, at the end of all actual exercise of choice, in moral necessity, which is—whether for good or evil-the consummation of moral liberty thus understood as "self-determination". This is the phase of definitive self-determination. (See vol. i, pp. 493-536.)

An "anthropology," however, or doctrine of human nature, which is to lead on to a system of applied ethics, must go beyond abstract psychology. It will turn to consider man's actual condition. It will add a historical chapter to the psychological chapter. Accordingly the second half of M. Gretillat's section on man (with which the present volume opens) is a discussion, from the ethical point of view, of man's actual history and present condition (de la nature humaine dans son état modifié). And this, in the light of the deepened seriousness and new self-knowledge which Christianity has brought, resolves itself into a discussion of the nature of sin, and of the "state of sin". With this, then, the examination of "man as a moral agent" concludes (vol. ii, pp. I-III).

The remainder of the volume is occupied with "Ethology"

or the doctrine of actual duties. It seems questionable whether such attempts to formulate actual moral obligations as are usually found in works of this kind constitute a legitimate part of ethical theory. For, in the first place, the moral programme of any individual thinker will depend directly upon his moral ideal, so that in the recognition of actual duties we have passed already out of the region of ethical theory into that of moral life. And perhaps the true "application" of ethics is moral life. Again, actual moral obligations are infinitely various, since life itself is so; and all that "applied ethics" can do is to describe a few of the innumerable moral situations and moral relationships in which human beings may find themselves. But the precept which governs one situation may be entirely irrelevant to another. and hence arise the interminable nature and practical uselessness of casuistry. Moral precepts have their hortatory uses, but their strict application can only be to particular cases. Moral reflection is indispensable, but casuistry can never lay claim to the title of a science. Still less can it pretend to speak with general authority, and the individual conscience is alone capable of judging in moral questions. At the same time the conscience is capable of instruction and always in need of it. In so far as "applied ethics" or reflection upon particular ethical questions is a science, it is a branch of the science of education; or, if the office of the Christian community be taken into account, or that of the preacher, it is a branch of homiletics.

The ideal of life, as M. Gretillat conceived it, was love to God. An ethics of which this is the ruling principle is rightly designated "Christian" ethics; but the name does not denote a difference with respect to the method or result of ethical philosophy; it indicates a specific "practical" ethics, that is, ultimately, a difference of ideal. If the ideal be love to God, the first subject of ethology will be the religious life; and accordingly M. Gretillat prefaces the analysis of the detail of duty by an analysis of moral life in its general relation to God. The first sections of his ethology contain his account of the religious life, of faith and repentance,

regeneration and the new life. Taking for his starting-point, as has already been said, the actual state of man as a moral agent—that is to say, the state of sin—and assuming, as a Christian, the possibility of redemption, he aims at describing repentance and surrender to the Will of God, with their consequences in life and conduct, as moral processes. The first part of ethology, then, is the analysis of the moral life in its religious aspect.

This is followed by the attempt to treat in systematic form the detail of duty. It might, suggests our author, seem enough to say with St. Augustine, 'Love God, and do all thou wilt'. "We might content ourselves with this rule, if Christians were all as complete in knowledge as they are in spiritual life. But they are not so; and Christian Ethics, if it is to retain any practical value, must know—addressing itself as it always must to still imperfect men-how to descend from the heights of the sovereign idea into these visible and particular regions in which man is called to walk and to live" (p. 345). Descending thus to particulars, he inquires after a useful and logical division of duties. He examines and rejects the conventional threefold division of "duties to myself, duties to my neighbour, and duties to God". He admits a certain relative correctness in the discrimination of duties to myself—as to one among other objects of moral consideration. But duty to myself and duty to my neighbour are in no sense co-ordinate with duty to God. "We ought rather to regard the love of our neighbours and the love of ourselves as together coordinate, but both subordinated to the love of God, which governs them and includes them in itself. We may indeed afterwards think it more convenient to admit, in the practical work of popular instruction, a certain co-ordination of the three categories, and to consider apart certain 'duties towards God' which we distinguish as such from 'duties towards God in our neighbours' and 'duties towards God in ourselves': but in order to adhere to the strict truth of fact, the two categories of moral obligation towards oneself and towards one's neighbour ought to be not co-ordinated with duty towards God but subordinated thereto." It is only, M. Gretillat continues, by reference to the Divine purposes that we can understand aright either our duty to ourselves or our duty to others. Religion only can differentiate wise self-love from egoism; religion only teach me either 'who is my neighbour,' or what I ought to seek for him and what is the *order* of importance and worth of those various interests of his which I am to serve. "We ought to love man, the creature of God, and to love ourselves, as God loves each; and to love both the one and the other in God." (pp. 346-351.)

M. Gretillat proposes his own division of duties, as follows: (1) duties towards myself; (2) duties towards my neighbour as an individual; (3) duties towards human society, in its various collective units—the family, the State, the Church. Among the duties of the first class he places such duties as the preservation of bodily purity, preventive self-discipline, spiritual vigilance and self-control; and he includes under this head the legitimate enjoyment of life, discussing work and repose, and seeking to determine a moral value in the "products of work" or property, in recreation, in æsthetic enjoyments. With regard to our neighbour, we have a duty towards his temporal interests—his person, his domestic happiness, his fortune, his reputation; and towards his spiritual interests as well. In the course of the Swiss professor's disquisition upon this last point we have the opportunity of seeing ourselves 'as others see us': for he describes and gravely appraises what he calls "la méthode Anglo-Saxonne de confesser le nom de Christ, qui consiste à accoster le premier venu pour lui parler de son âme ou lui remettre un traité" (p. 482).

It cannot be said that the treatment of these various topics shows much speculative power or originality. The efforts to derive from first principles all the dictates of a fully-developed moral consciousness, reflecting a complex civilisation, are often laboured and artificial in their character. We are left with the feeling that the moral instinct has gained no force from the scientific justification of it. What is more serious, in an "application" of ethics, is the complete conventionality of the results arrived at. There is in all Professor Gretillat's conclusions no single modification of or advance upon the

received morality of respectable citizens of modern Europe, with Protestant and evangelical sympathies, and conservative ideas in politics. The ideas of such persons upon difficult subjects like property, or marriage, are put forward as if they represented the perfect result of ethical thought and the full realisation of the Christian ideal. Whatever the question proposed, and whatever the show of philosophy in the discussion, none but a conventional answer is ever given; and the results of the inquiry into all the more difficult problems simply correspond with the current and orthodox ethical opinion. There are, however, on various pages, sensible and well-balanced discussions of some of the vexed questions of ethics, such as the question of luxury (p. 415 ff.) or that of ascetic self-discipline (p. 364 ff.).

A. HALLIDAY DOUGLAS.

## Idealism and Theology: A Study of Presuppositions.

By Chas. F. d'Arcy, B.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1899, Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 294. Price 6s.

In this volume the distinguished traditions of the Donnellan Lectures are fully sustained. The sub-title informs us that what Mr. d'Arcy offers is "a Study of Presuppositions," an indication that he has adopted the transcendental method of Kant. A great deal of mystifying nonsense has been written about transcendentalism, and many theosophical fantasies and apocalypses have taken shelter under a name supposed to be august; but what it means is plain enough, The transcendentalist is just any one who asks what experience implies. How is this experience of mine possible, i.e., what does it involve, be it common sense only, or science and other experiences or worlds as well? There is the world of religion for instance; and that province of experience is Mr. d'Arcy's chief concern. How is it possible? What does it imply? These are his questions, and thus he is a transcendentalist. But there are at least two kinds. What then is Mr. d'Arcy's specific difference? In philosophy we are just now at the cross roads. Philosophy has been at the same many a time before; and now again. The growing point of philosophy is bifurcating: and of the two ways both cannot be thoroughfares, and one must be a blind alley.

I. There is the way of common sense philosophies, which accept the given in some shape and more or less; time, space, things, events, persons, egos, selves, qualities, cause, change, will, force, etc. There is some analysis, some criticism, some rejection, and then the tired and perhaps frightened philosopher cries halt, and with what has survived, proceeds, as with bricks of Ultimate Reality, to build up his system.

What is left in hand and dubbed real, may be single, as Fichte's Ego, or manifold, as Herbart's einfache Qualitäten. Hegel's ultimate is Thought; Schopenhauer's is Will. Personality or self-consciousness is Green's and Caird's. But all alike are got by refusal to move on.

II. There is the path of the "gran rifiuto" to stop short, to leave off criticism, to accept the given in any form or at any stage as final fact, i.e., as Reality. These philosophers make for reconstruction through uncompromising analysis. They withstand the temptation to call their approximations finalities. Like Socrates, they will follow the dialectic wherever it may lead; and if they have to sail the seas for ever, they will still sail before the wind of obligatory thought. They have the insight that to dodge or resist is of no avail. Declaring themselves pilgrims, they seek "a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God". Persons, categories, "deliverances of consciousness,"-whatever is given-are but tents of a night. Their claims to be real must be rejected—in what Name shall be seen shortly. Before any "given" can enter into Reality it must "suffer change Into something new and strange". It must accept transfiguration and even transubstantiation. This sort of philosopher has often to bear the shame of a double reproach -now called all-corrosive sceptic, and anon mystic, for rising above all that is given his quest is within the veil. votary of "idols," he may even be called atheist. To quote one golden sentence of the foremost living representative of this way, upon whom the mantle of the greatest has fallen: "We may put it thus once for all—there is nothing given which is sacred. Metaphysics can respect no element of experience except on compulsion. It can reverence nothing but what by criticism and denial the more unmistakably asserts itself."

These, then, are the two ways; and if we take Reality to be represented by unity, then the first way will be symbolised by '9 and the second by '9, and it will be seen that, whilst Reality, i.e., unity, is unattainable by either, the inapproximativeness of the first ('9) is immeasurably greater than that

of the second (9). The second has an infinite career, the first is a *cul de sac*. In which company are we to place Mr. d'Arcy? The presuppositions of his transcendental study of experience are three:—

1. The post-Kantian Ego, sometimes called "person or spirit". "Person or spirit is the ultimate unity"-"the highest category". Under the name of "Self" it is "the thing which knows". But not merely: it is all that is known as well, for "the knowing ego is the concretion of all that is present," as well as "the unifying principle". It is always sacrosanct, and taboos any further critical analysis. Thus it is the superlative cul de sac: and the cave of Despair is near by. If this way of thinking be "Idealism," and if it be the only way of strict thorough-going thought, then "Idealism is Solipsism". "It is the very essence of self-consciousness that the opposition between the subjective and objective takes place within the bounds of the subject." "It is the 'crystal sphere' which holds itself and the object together." The whale only swallowed Jonah, but this is as if it had swallowed itself too, and so remained both inside and outside itself! But this does not trouble Mr. d'Arcy, whose argument requires that Thought shall infallibly lead into this very trap, and force upon us the salto mortale of "faith". A set and elaborate refutation of "Idealism" is not called for here, if anywhere; and yet one may refer to Bradley's signal chapter on "Solipsism" and Hodgson's "Idealism Untenable" in his Metaphysic of Experience, vol. iv., p. 377 ff. Killing the dead could not be better done. But what after all is this ego that provides Mr. d'Arcy with a false premiss? It is Kant's "unity of apperception," and no unit or entity, but an element of any conscious experience, and in or by itself an abstraction. It is a mere point of view. No view, no point; and so if no experience, then no ego. So it has no priority, no prerogative, nor any independent existence, such as appears to be claimed for it here as first presupposition.

As the centre of gravity shifts and changes when the mass varies, so the ego of any mass of experience shifts and changes as the spiritual mass varies. There is always a finite centre of experience, but not always the same, and personal identity like all identity is an ideal construction. James hits the mark when he offers the present passing pulse of thought as a fair substitute for the monstrous ego of Mr. d'Arcy's School.

2. The second presupposition is scarcely entitled to a substantive place, but is rather a corollary of the first. It is Berkeley's, as the first was Green's property. "He (God) gives possibility to nature," and is the ego of it, as I am of my panorama. "God is personal." "The snow peak glitters . . . the billows roar . . . the rose glows . . . and gives forth its perfume, though there be no human being present to see and hear and enjoy." So here are eyes, ears, touch, and even smell; and Berkeley's Méya  $Z\hat{\omega}o\nu$  is upon us in full panoply of sense organs. d'Arcy seems to have broken away from his solipsism with a vengeance, and to have taken the kingdom of other-personality by violence. For, if there can be but one person, myself, and one experience, my own, Nature must still be my experience only; else the continued existence of Berkeley's "loaf in the cupboard" must be secured in some other way than by starting upon me another person. But let this pass, and still nothing is gained for common sense, as "The experience of a person is like a panorama into which none but he can enter. If God were simply a person, Nature would become a private panorama of His from which all other persons would be excluded." Apparently, then, in spite of his inconsequence and his passage per impossibile from one sole solipsism to many persons' sole, Mr. d'Arcy is only more deeply involved in ἀπορίαι. As utterly exclusive and therefore unrelated persons, his God and he are nought to each other, and in the Divine panorama he can have no share. Yet it is just here that he takes the plunge, which his previous presuppositions forbid him. That they do so he admits, and, strangely blind to the suicidal nature of his admission, he even makes a point of it in a remarkable passage which sums up his three presuppositions in order.

(1 and 2) "The spiritual self-conscious subject unifies the

multiplicity of experience. (3) Finally, the ultimate concrete totality unifies the multiplicity of all experiences, that is, of all persons. Philosophy, which is simply systematic human thought, . . . cannot ascend to the final synthesis." This is a confession of philosophical despair; his "happy dispatch". From his first position there is no passage to his third. And, if ever by some other way than "systematic human thought" he finds himself safely entrenched in his third position, it follows that there can be no way back, no tergiversa-Once his feet are set upon the rock of "the ultimate concrete totality" as presupposition of all experience, his previous "idealism," alias "solipsism," has become untenable. What you have reached by "a venture of faith," you cannot leave by any logical process. But the sequel will show that Mr. d'Arcy does retire from his third position, whenever his occasions as a theologian seem to require him to step down: and God is at one time "the ultimate concrete totality," and again "a person," and even the Berkeleian Μέγα Ζῶον. Α is A and also not-A! Evidently Mr. d'Arcy has a fourth presupposition in the background of his mind, which does not come to the front in propria persona, viz., the ultimate selfcontradictoriness of Reality. Reality is the Contradictory! But, if we call a truce and cease from insisting on consistency, Mr. d'Arcy's able and enthusiastic exposition of his third principle deserves our amplest and heartiest acknowledgment. There are many persons in God, but God, i.e., "the ultimate concrete totality" is not a person.

3. The third presupposition, then, is Bradleian. It is to all intents and purposes the absolute of Mr. Bradley's Appearance and Reality. It is One Inclusive and Individual Experience—not personal, "superpersonal," i.e., not subject to the form of personality or subject-objectivity; and therefore not conscious or mediate experience, but The Perfect Immediate Spirit. "It is an unity of persons, not a personal unity;" and, yet, after Mr. d'Arcy has somehow attained the vantage-ground of this great thought of God—the God, by the way, of Anselm's Proslogion—he permits himself to say: "For us personality is the ultimate form of unity!" Such vacillation is incredible,

it is stultifying, it is an oscillation quite disruptive. Perhaps the excuse is that, after all is said, his third principle is not properly a presupposition, and is at best but his "faith," "belief," "assumption"—a desperate "venture". Certainly, his violent and impossible syncretism, when once criticism has been lulled to sleep, is just what makes his book so valuable and so intensely interesting. His illogicality, in fact, is his salvation. But the pity of it is that he has a better way if he would only take it and keep to it. There are here and there glimpses in his pages that "systematic human thought" is not quite imbecile and suicidal. God were a person, we should be compelled to assume the existence of some ultimate unity higher than He, in order to justify our belief in the whole Universe of being." But this logical compulsion "to assume" is more than assumption, it is genuine obligatory thought. And this constrained justification of experience ("belief") is simply the transcendental method, and that is "systematic human thought". "The fact is, the multitude of persons implies the existence of a principle of unity more fundamental than that of personality." Implication is presupposition. Why, then, instantly give himself away in such sentences as "we are trying to make thought do that to which it is not quite equal," and "it is the belief that the Universe is trustworthy," and "the faith which must be professed for regulative purposes!" Why these lame conclusions and retractations, when he has just demonstrated that we are obliged to think the thought of God or Universe "the ultimate unity which is necessary for thought, for life, and for sanity?" Knowledge, then, and no mere profession of faith "for regulative purposes," but the constructive and constitutive notion. No one has shown this better than Mr. d'Arcy himself, when at his very best and following Mr. Bradley, he says: "Examination of all the ordinary modes of explaining experience reveals contradiction everywhere. Criticise substance and accident, primary and secondary qualities, space and time, cause and effect, and all will be found self-destructive." Here we seem to be running over the contents of Mr. Bradley's Appearance and Reality, especially

book i., Appearance. But we miss some items—change, activity, self, ego, person, self-consciousness, will, thought, etc. Why stop short? Why pick and choose and omit.

Upon no apparent principle.

"All have sinned and come short of the Glory of God." Their inconsistencies disallow and annul their claims to be ultimate and real; and ploughing on, Mr. d'Arcy might have found the principle of inclusive consistency to be the absolute idea, immanent in all human experience, equally creator of all worlds, and destroyer. So discovered, this ground-notion of God, even his own concept of impersonal ultimate Unity and Reality, would have inhibited backsliding. When asked, "But may not this ultimate unity be conceived as a kind of fate which rules the gods?" he would have had to answer, yes; and could not have backed and filled as thus: "God is super-personal unity . . . multi-personal unity," as much as to say, God is not personal, and yet very much so! Nor could he have treated "super-personal unity," as adjectival, which he constantly does to his own and his readers' sophistication, whenever his doctrine "attributes to Him (God) a super-personal unity," "which belongs to God," for he would have known that God simply is that Unity: while all persons, human or super-human, are of God, appearances of Reality.

Evermore in thought and conduct we flee from the contradictory and exclusive as from the city of destruction, and make for consistency and inclusion as for the celestial city; and when we come to reflect, we see at once that the principle of consistent inclusion is the one prime mover itself unmoved (as Aristotle puts it)—guide and judge, measure and criterion throughout; absolutely unquestionable, for to raise a doubt of its validity is to use and affirm it against itself! It is "the light of all our seeing," and in all doubting it is the self-affirmed doubter. This, again, is just what we mean by Reality—namely, One Perfect Whole of Spirit or Experience, inclusive and free from all contradiction, and, therefore, inasmuch as self-consciousness stands already convicted of inconsistency, Immediate and Impersonal. The

result is simply the answer we gave when children at school -God is Spirit, absolute, eternal, unchangeable: the process is what the schoolmen called an elevation of the soul to God: the issue is Anselm's Absolute Idea or ground-notion of God. A thought, abstract, yet obligatory; a partial knowledge, but positive. An outline to be filled in, no doubt, but one which possesses a positive definite structure predetermining any subsequent content, the absolute prius and criterion of all possible theologies. And, if Mr. d'Arcy had come by it legitimately, entering by the door instead of breaking through the wall, he could never have called it "vague," "wanting in definite outline," and "no doctrine sufficiently clear to be called a doctrine of the Divine Nature". With us and in us, aware or unaware of it, from birth to death, and in all experience, common, scientific, philosophical, moral, poetic, religious—in all these worlds and any others there may be, existent or ideal, It is architectonic. It, and not any empty imbecile ego, posing as a psychological epistemological and ontological monster, is "the unifying principle". Egos are only in place and power as its creatures, vehicles and instruments. "In God we live and move and have our being"; and the Absolute Idea is the thought of God immanent and operative in finite experience. When Mr. d'Arcy yields to the sway of the thought of Very God, and "not disobedient to the heavenly vision," names the Name, he succeeds in giving a superlative value to his discourse, showing "there is at work, in the seeming chaos of our philosophical thinking, an organising principle which promises to give new life to theology". We may think the promise, if kept in the letter, is broken to the heart, when we find "personality" deposed, and "theologies" transported. For if we are to be loyal to our "first principle," we must subordinate the drama and persona dramatis of popular religious imagination, and must relegate theologies to another province of finite experience than that of science. But we do well to acquiesce, for the province of Poetry or personal imaginative emotion has a value, validity, and greatness of its own, unique, and not unequal to any.

"The position we have now attained enables us to see what constitutes mysticism . . . the effort to reach a spiritual fact by means of a concept which is confessedly inadequate." An apt illustration of this definition is afforded by a sentiment expressed by Dr. Rashdall in preaching before the University of Oxford: "I see no reason why a theist should not cordially accept the position, 'the deity is finite (in Mr. Bradley's sense), a self, amongst and over against other selves'." This is exactly Mr. d'Arcy's "mysticism," the heart's attempt to reach "a spiritual fact," namely God, by means of a "confessedly inadequate concept," namely "self" or personality. Religion needs this kind of mysticism, and has a right to it; for, indeed, as Mr. Bradley affirms, with Mr. d'Arcy's approval, "All is beyond us". So the pious soul, as entitled to whatever serves, both may and must use these working ideas. But there are times and moods in which only the thought and sense of Absolute Very God will satisfy the human spirit, and with this elevation of spirit to the All-One, Mr. d'Arcy is well acquainted. Religion, then, has its being in these oscillations which are forbidden to science and philosophy; and a sublime mystical self-contradictoriness is its essence.

Mr. d'Arcy endeavours to bring his three presuppositions to bear on the solution of various problems—creation, morality, evil, atonement, incarnation, miracle, etc.

Whatever is "contingent" or apparently accidental in experience is "miraculous" or "supernatural". "Contingency" occurs whenever any one of the many absolutely exclusive persons interferes with another, i.e., when any "panorama" impinges on, or overlaps, or runs into another. Intrusion is miracle. How these personal collisions and interventions can occur, where the persons are all sole, inviolable and unrelated, Mr. d'Arcy does not explain, except in so far as he brings in his third presupposition to destroy his first, and reduce his "exclusive" persons to the fatal predicament of "ganglions in the Absolute System".

As to "Creation," its notion is given thus: "As the ego creates and inhabits its own experience, so does God Vol. X.—No. 4.

create and inhabit nature". Creation may be manifold and co-operative. We are not to say Nature as if one; but, perhaps, natures; for are there not "breaks" and "epochmaking" gaps and "new beginnings" such as "motion, life, consciousness?" Such "disturbance" would be of course harmonious, and, under God, we should have several divine "distinct persons" creating and blending their "panoramas,"—a co-operative society of creators—interfering "just as one human will interferes in the experience of another". This "multipersonal" cosmogony is certainly very ingenious, for "It yields a view of the world as a state of things in which miracle is sure to occur if occasion demands it".

It is a great pleasure to gather the anthology which follows, and so close a delightful and most instructive book "without controversy".

"God as one person among many . . . God as person against man as person. . . . On this plane—the plane on which the universe seems a collection of persons among whom God is supreme—move and interact a number of conceptions and relations by means of which we can never solve the problem." So, even the concept of "The Kingdom" is penultimate.

"The difficulty of grasping the Atonement intellectually is precisely the difficulty which has faced us all through, and the only way of coming to terms with it is on the basis of that presupposition to which every great fundamental difficulty in thought and life leads us back."

God is The Atonement.

"God is one with the final and most perfect unity . . . superpersonal . . . ultimate and absolute unity. . . . This is the true *Homoousion*. And this truth finds its most adequate expression in the sentence: 'God is Love'."

"He that abideth in Love, abideth in God, and God

abideth in him."

J. Burns-Gibson.

### Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum.

Ein Versuch, von Erik Stave, Docent der biblischen Exegese an der Universität Upsala. Von der Teyler'schen Theologischen Gesellschaft gekrönte Preisschrift. Haarlem: Bohn, 1898. Pp. 280. M. 6.

THE thesis to which this careful and moderate book is devoted has been frowned upon by very high authorities; and those who have still ventured to cherish it will be encouraged by the appearance of this systematic investigation. The author proves his competence to those who meet with his work for the first time. He is not very widely read in English work, and we cannot help complaining of him for giving us no index. This said, no further fault will be found with the book as a whole, which reaches conclusions to me at least very welcome.1 That is to say, he does not attempt to trace in Jewish writings Zoroastrian phrases, or even directly-borrowed Zoroastrian conceptions. As Kuenen well says: "The germs which lay hidden in Judaism were fertilised by contact with a religion in which they had arrived at maturity". Practically this is a summary of Stave's view, and it is hard to disprove its cogency.

The first fifty pages are devoted to introductory discussion on the date of the Avesta and the age of Mazda-worship. He summarises well the arguments against Darmesteter's hypothesis, incidentally remarking that Philo's  $\theta \epsilon \hat{los} \lambda \delta \gamma os$  is much more likely to be borrowed from Parsism than vice versâ. Discussing the antiquity of religious ideas in the Avesta, he argues in favour of an anti-Parsic allusion in Isa. xlv. 7 (p. 46). Like several other writers, he has overlooked the fact that

Zarathushtra himself is as strongly opposed to this Vendîdâd Dualism as Second Isaiah could be. He notes that even Darmesteter allows Achaemenian antiquity for dualism, the resurrection and the world-cycle of twelve millennia; and we do not need more.

The second chapter describes the Jews under Persian rule. On the question whether Zoroastrianism proper had reached Persia under the first Achaemenides. Stave pronounces in favour of Cyrus's being a follower of the Prophet. I need not repeat what I have said above; Stave's arguments do not avail against my view that Cyrus was a Mazdeist of pre-Reformation creed. In quoting (p. 57) the important passage of Darius's Inscription relating to Gaumâta's usurpation, Stave creates a wrong impression by giving "Sir Rawlinson's" translation, which states that Gaumâta destroyed temples, and that Darius "reinstituded" [sic, twice] "the sacred chaunts and sacrificial worship". But Spiegel's translation, given in the footnote, does away with the religious significance of the last two items, and in his denial Spiegel is reinforced by the latest editors, Weissbach and Bang, whom Stave has not consulted. Stave argues from passages in Second Isaiah in favour of a high view of Cyrus's religion, and from Ezek. viii. 17 that the Jews had heard of the Mazdayasna during the Exile; on this view Second Isaiah and Ezekiel held singularly opposite opinions of that religion! Next a historical survey aims at showing that the Jews had good reason throughout to be warmly loyal to the Achaemenides and therefore not hostile to their religion. The link between the two religions would lie mainly in the Jews resident in Babylonia and Medo-Persia, who were frequently reinforced by immigration. The open-minded and adaptable Jews of the Dispersion were ready to take in new ideas, which would speedily percolate into Judæa. This prepares for a statement of the development of Jewish religion during the Persian period, especially the growth of a less exclusive temper towards foreigners, which however co-existed with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Yasna, xliv., 5, and my article "Religion of Persia" in the forthcoming volume of Hastings Bible Dictionary.

an opposite tendency arising from the birth of legalism. None the less were there universalist features: cf. Deut. iv. 19 f., Jer. xvi. 19 ff., and especially Mal. i. 11, which must have meant that the heathen worshipped Jehovah when honestly worshipping their own gods. There were thus two currents represented by the opposite spirits of the Books of Esther and Jonah running simultaneously.

The third chapter, "Parsism and Judaism," starts from the point that Parsi influence has been proved historically possible and that the conditions of the Jews under Persian rule make rather for than against such influence. The writer proceeds to note similarities and differences between the two religions. There is an interesting comparison between Ahura and Jehovah, bringing out the greater depth of Judaism in the idea of holiness. Ahura was much nearer to Jehovah than any other Gentile deity-which would tend to reduce Jewish prejudice against Parsi dogma. Stave goes on to describe the influences which made the Jews more inclined towards ideas of resurrection, angels and evil spirits, the Parsi influence on Judaism being compared to that of Hellenism on Christianity. Sundry small points are next collected, of which the most important is the dog in Tobit, where the native Jewish contempt for the animal emphasises the suggestion of its Avestan rôle as a foe to the daēvas. Two old ideas of Tiele's are rightly passed over-Jewish indebtedness for the synagogue and for the conception of a bookrevelation—and Purim is discussed at some length, but without decisive results. The riddle of Purim still awaits its Œdipus. Having cleared away minor matters, Stave defines what he expects in the realm of eschatology. He states Parsi doctrine, rightly insisting that there is no ground whatever for hesitation about the early date of the resurrection belief. After a careful examination of the history of Israel's eschatology, he concludes from the severity of the struggle Jewish piety made for the resurrection idea that it must be essentially native. Note, however, that the earliest Old Testament testimony to individual resurrection, Isa. xxv. 8, xxvi. 19, dates probably from the end of the Persian period. The

apocalyptic setting of this prophecy resembles the Parsi conception of the end of the world; and the nearly contemporary Isa, xxxiv., xxxv., has a very Parsi-seeming picture of a world-renewal joined with a judgment on evil spirits or angels. The rejection of Enoch from the Canon may show that the Iews regarded as foreign the ideas which are in this book so much more fully worked out. In Malachi he compares the coming of Elijah with the Avestan Saošyant ("Saviour") who shall accomplish the final regeneration; and the "Day that burns as an oven" to the Gâthic ordeal of molten metal. A detailed examination of Daniel reveals much that does not seem a native development from earlier prophecy. Koheleth shows that the belief in a resurrection was not universal, and that it was debated. It follows that the dogma was not directly borrowed from Parsism, else it would have been early adopted, and in the form of a general, not a partial resurrection. Stave will only commit himself to saying that Parsism may have influenced the development of the idea and that in any case it can be recognised in the apocalyptic intuitions connected with the doctrine's appearance. His examination of Parsi influence on Enoch 1 must not detain us, but it leads to the important question whether a general or a partial resurrection was the characteristic Iewish idea. The resurrection of the just alone might be taken as the doctrine of the Pharisees (Pss. Sol., and Josephus), and we might suspect a protest against the foreign doctrine of a universal rising, but Paul evidences this as the Pharisee belief after all. Dr. Stave unsuspiciously accepts Acts xxiv. 14 as sufficient testimony for Paul's doctrine—and why not? He goes on to describe the multiformity of later Jewish eschatology, which he regards as evidence of a foreign disturbing element. He notes a deviation from Parsism in the Iewish doctrine (not universally held) of eternal torment for the wicked. But this is certainly the teaching of the Gâthâs, though restorationist ideas may come in at a later period. After showing the similarity between the battle of Angra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stave has not apparently used Dr. Charles's edition, making his references to Dillmann.

Mainyu with Saošyant and that between Satan and Messiah in the later Judaism, and the N. T., he proceeds to sum up. The Jewish eschatology is not borrowed, but its growth was promoted by Parsi influence. Signs of this influence are to be seen (I) in apocalyptic, (2) in the new outlook upon universal history, its periods and their restriction within a definite space of time, finally developing into a real world-renewal, (3) again in the evil spirits' activity immediately before their conquest and punishment at the Last Judgment, and (4) in the doctrine that a future retribution began in Sheol, whence resulted the separation of good men and evil immediately after death. Greek or Babylonian influence in all this is barred by the scantiness of points of contact with those religious systems when compared with Parsism and its numerous resemblances.

Next comes the Angelology. Parsi traits here are to be seen, not in the developed belief in angels, which grew on native lines, but in the systematised hierarchy which coincides with Parsism too closely to be accidental. That Israel should have had a guardian angel other than Jehovah (Dan. xii, 1) cannot be understood without the help of foreign influence. In Zechariah (iii. 9, and iv. 10,) Stave accepts with Kohut the presence of the seven Amshaspands, but concedes to Gunkel that Babylonian influence may have assisted: Kuenen. Dillmann, and Ewald took the former view. There is no developed angelology in the Psalms-one proof, Stave thinks, how wrong it is to treat all Psalms as post-exilic. The late author of Ps. ciii. 21, civ. 4, may have known the Parsi element-genii. The personified courtiers of Ps. xcvi. 6 have a resemblance to Avestan ideas; and the in Ps. cxxxix. 7, is more of a distinct personality than elsewhere in the Old Testament, and may be compared with Spenta Mainyu in the Gâthâs. There is certainly little enough to build on More important are the developments in Daniel, where angels lose their anonymity, and where the nations have patron angels assigned them-cf. the slightly earlier witness of Ecclus. xvii. 17. These cannot be the gods of Gentile nations, for each has only one, and there is Michael to be accounted for. The recognition of the Fravashis here

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is in the highest degree probable. Parsism in Tobit is patent, and we have the "seven chief angels" (xii. 15), who, however, need not answer either in names or functions to the Amshaspands. The later Jewish literature, which Paul follows, elaborates the grouping and ranking of angels: the account of this, affecting the New Testament considerably, cannot be summarised here (p. 227 ff.), nor the argument against Gunkel's interpretation of the Rabbinic tradition that the names of the angels came from Babylon. Stave's suggestion that the tradition included Iran under "Babylon" seems to me very reasonable. An interesting passage traces the lower genii of Zoroastrianism in Enoch, the New Testament, and later Jewish literature. Especially note p. 230 f. on the angelolatry rebuked by Paul. The parallel he draws between Gal. iv. 9, and Enoch lxxxii. 10 ff., does not seem very close. The Fravashis are seen in the ἄγγελοι of Revelation i.-iii. (I have often wondered that this key to the difficulty has not been more freely used); and Matthew xviii. 10, Acts xii. 7 (?), 15, show that they were an ordinary object of belief. Parsi doctrine in Essenism is delineated without reference to Lightfoot.

Finally comes the account of Demonology. Stave shows what germs there were of a demonology in older Jahvism, proceeding mainly in the footsteps of Schultz (ii., 272 f., in English edition). The Satan that is ultimately developed is not a natural resultant of Genesis iii., nor does the concept follow from prophetic teaching. Different theories to account for the evolution are successively examined and found wanting. Since 2 Chronicles xxviii. 23 speaks of gods of Damascus as real beings, it seems to follow that heathen deities had become actual hostile powers, that is, demons. But the whole tendency of prophetical teaching, especially that of 2 Isaiah, was towards their non-existence. What has introduced this changed view which prevails in later Jewish literature and in the New Testament? If the key is not in Judaism, where is it to be found? In Babylon (as Gunkel)? Stave allows there may have been a contributory influence from that quarter, but it must have been far less than that of Parsism, which alone has a conception in any way resembling Satan. It is suggested that the Jews knew that the Parsi daēvas had Brahminist gods behind them, and on this impulse turned heathen gods into demons. Surely this is most unlikely? On Haug's old schism hypothesis the transformation took place many centuries before, and was forgotten now; and on Tiele's view (see review in March number) it was only two or three Indian devas who suffered this fate, and that only in isolated texts. course the suggestion is fair enough if a nearer foreign religion is substituted for Hinduism. Dealing next with Tobit, Stave observes that Benfey's identification of 'Aσμοδαίος with Aēšma daēva is no longer doubted. difficulty that Aēšma in the Avesta never has daēva following it may be set down to accident. Stave quotes Windischmann's reply that it is found in the Bundahish, which professes to reproduce Avestan texts. Less easy to explain is the complete difference in character between Aēšma, the demon of wrath, and Asmodaeus, who is predominantly lust, a feature entirely absent from the Parsi fiend.1 (Has not Stave made a slip in calling the Avestan demon of lust Azi? It should be Iahi: Azi is "greed"). Perhaps, as he suggests, the Jewish author merely took over the name of a hurtful demon and gave him functions to fancy. It is better to trace the misconception further back, to the Median folk-story which the Jewish author accommodated.2 There follow sundry Scriptural and Rabbinic quotations describing Satan as author of lies and of death-two features perpetually recurring in epithets of Angra Mainyu. In later Jewish thought the devil became almost as necessary to the solution of the world-problems as Angra was in Parsism—"almost," because Satan does not create, as Angra does. On the other hand, Parsism knows no fall of angels. This in Judaism is an attempt to reconcile the native monism with a dualism of foreign origin:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Correct the meaning given to Aēšma in Hastings' Bible Dictionary (s.v. Asmodaeus). It never means anything but wrath or rapine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> I have attempted to describe this "Iranian background of *Tobit*" in a forthcoming article in the *Expository Times*.

it appears first in the "Grundschrift" of Enoch. "So Genesis vi., as at an earlier period Genesis iii., becomes the starting-point of a theodicy." The description of various theories of this fall must not detain us here. I note in passing Stave's interpretation of Ephesians vi. II ff. (p. 272) as illustrating the idea of conflicts between good and evil angels in the atmosphere, where they create storm, snow, etc. Whether this is Paul or not, it is undeniably Parsism. Stave sums up, as the most important side of the influence which Persian religious ideas exerted on the spirit of Judaism, this setting of two worlds in conflict which passes on from Judaism to Christianity. Good men must suffer from the power of Satan, without being thereby implicated in sin.

The result of the whole inquiry is to show that Parsism makes itself felt not so much in the direct contact of Jews and Persians in Achaemenian times, as in the currents of thought which were running after Alexander linked the East with the West. The commanding influence of Parsismwitnessed by the wide spread of the Mithra cult-could hardly have failed to win some foothold even in exclusive Judaism, which yielded something to Hellenism, a far less congenial foreign system. With a suggestive sketch of the way these characteristic new doctrines may have helped one another in, prompted at the beginning by the conditions of Jewish history, the book ends. Space has prevented my giving a really adequate account of its contents, still less examining in detail its various propositions. But I have said enough to show students how important a contribution Dr. Stave has made to the history of religion.

JAMES HOPE MOULTON.

Die Älteste Terminologie der Jüdischen Schriftauslegung; ein Wörterbuch der Bibelexegetischen Kunstsprache der Tannaiten.

Von Dr. Wilhelm Bacher, Professor an der Landes—Rabbinerschule zu Budapest. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. Large 8vo, pp. viii. + 207. Price M.8.50.

In the preface to this dictionary, Dr. Bacher assigns to Ezra the place of the first of the Old Testament exegetes (nach Ezra, dem ersten Schriftgelehrten). How much the learned professor means his term Schriftgelehrten to include, we cannot tell. But it is an interesting question whether the explanation of a language to all practical purposes unknown to the mass of his hearers formed part of the duty which fell to Ezra and his associates. It was a great day in post-exilic Jerusalem, when the inhabitants assembled before the watergate and listened to the reading of the book of the law of their God (Neh. viii. 1-8). This law (Torah) was written in Hebrew. Did the audience addressed understand that language? Or was the common parlance of the people already conducted in Aramaic? The fall of the northern kingdom opened the doors of Palestine to this latter dialect. It was the language of the country from which, in B.C. 536, the Jewish exiles returned to Jerusalem. And while the Hebrew dialect, as used by prophets and others in preexilic times, was still known at least to the leaders and teachers of the new Jewish community, and continued to be employed by inspired and other writers in the years after the restoration from Babylon, it is probable that Aramaic was in current use among the people about the time of Ezra. In the days of our Saviour's ministry an Aramaic dialect was

spoken in Palestine. And it is not easy to think of any period when this dialect would be more likely to come into general use in Judæa than the years immediately succeeding the restoration under the edict of Cyrus. During that period Jews, accustomed to the use of Aramaic alone, came, time after time, and settled in Jerusalem and the neighbourhood. As the years passed, and fresh bodies from the land of exile arrived, the use of Aramaic became, practically, a necessity of the situation. And it is not improbable that in the days of Ezra a stranger from Babylon would listen to the same dialect in the streets of Jerusalem as that which he himself had employed in the streets of the great capital on the Euphrates. If so, the duty imposed on Ezra and his fellowstudents of The Torah would include the interpretation of the sacred Hebrew text in the language familiar to the people.1

In any case the explanation of the contents of *The Torah*, with the application of its prescriptions and instructions to the everyday life of the Jewish community begins here. Ezra is the first and greatest of the *Sopherim*. The labours of these *Schriftgelehrten* (scribes) grew with the years. From the position they assigned to *The Torah*, and the system of which they made themselves the exponents, it became their duty to find in the sacred Hebrew *Torah* rules for the obedience, and principles for the guidance of their race, whose abode (one can scarcely say home) was soon to be almost as wide as the world of mankind, and whose life was to be exposed to influences—intellectual, moral, spiritual—of which the writers of *The Torah* could have had little or no experience, of many of which they had never dreamed.

Jewish intellect and imagination were equal to the task. It is true, we have very little information on this subject. For five or six centuries after Ezra, the labours of the scribes are surrounded by obscurity. We can do little else than form conjectures as to their aims and modes of procedure

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>This view—an ancient Jewish opinion—seems to be favoured by the margin of the R. V.: "And they read in the book in the law of God, with an interpretation" (a Targum).—Neh. viii. 8.

from the results of their labours as these appear in historical documents. From the notices which have reached us regarding the great rival teachers and founders of rival schools, Hillel and Shammai, we may infer the importance attached to the work of the scribes during the half century immediately preceding the birth of Christ, and the influence exercised in the community by the heads of the schools of biblical study. But the earliest written work of the Tannaim (teachers, doctores) which has come down to us, a work which must lie at the foundation of all trustworthy historical investigation of the labours of these biblical students, was not produced till probably a century after Hillel. Tannaites may be regarded as ending with Rabbi Judah the Holy, the prince, shortly before the close of the second century A.D., six centuries and a half after Ezra. The work which that first of the scribes initiated when he first expounded The Torah in Jerusalem was destined to occupy a foremost place in the subsequent history of Judaism. The ablest men in the community devoted themselves to it. As the years passed, and the race spread abroad among the Gentiles, the demands made upon the scribes increased. New conditions of life were ever arising, and The Torah had to provide the needed instruction. Unbridled fancy and arbitrary exegesis or accommodation were applied to the sacred text, and wonderful results were achieved. The expositions of the Rabbis became law to the people. They were transmitted orally from generation to generation. And when they had accumulated for six and a half centuries, and formed a magnum mare which no ordinary mind could explore, Rabbi Judah took the task in hand, codified the results of the biblical study of his predecessors, and gave to the Jewish world The Mishnah (i.e., the repetition, viz., of the Torah), a work which, henceforth, became only less sacred-if even less sacred—than The Torah itself. The Mishnah was not quite completed by Rabbi Judah, and was not written for some centuries after his death; but it was substantially his work, and his name will always be associated with it. With the appearance of the Mishnah the function of the Tannaim closed. Legal decisions for faith and practice were complete. The business of learned Jews, henceforth, was to discuss or discourse about what had already been given. The Amoraim (the speakers, discoursers) took the place of the Tannaim and prepared the way for the Talmud.

Five or six Tannaite Midrashim, belonging to the first and second centuries A.D. (i.e., earlier, or not later in date than The Mishnah) have come down to us. These, with two works of a date later than that of the Mishnah form the basis of Dr. Bacher's Wörterbuch. Dr. Bacher holds that the terminology of the Tannaite Midrashim which have reached us is substantially the same as that used in the years before these works were produced. This terminology he regards as an authentic memorial of the oldest exposition of Holy Scripturethe most important witness of the beginnings of the Midrash. During the two centuries between Hillel and Iudah the Holy—a period, the history of which is more or less known to us—this terminology was, no doubt, considerably enlarged, but the basis and essential components remained unchanged. Accordingly, Professor Bacher's purpose is to give or to suggest a picture of pre-historic Tannaite exposition founded on the terminology of the works of the Tannaites which have been preserved to us. The six works of the Mishnah age used by Professor Bacher are four Midrashim on Exodus (Mechiltha), on Leviticus (Siphrâ), on Numbers (Siphrê), on Deuteronomy (Siphré); Tosephtha (i.e., addition; Tannaite matter, not included in the Mishnah); Seder Olam (a historical Midrash of the second century). The symbols for these documents in Dr. Bacher's dictionary are as follows: M., S., Sn., Sd., T., S.O. These constantly occur in the dictionary, and it is desirable to keep them in mind. In addition to these, Dr. Bacher refers to two post-Mishnaic works, Pesikta (about the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century), and Genesis Rabba (probably about the beginning of the fifth century), in order to show how closely the terminology of these Haggadic works is related to that of the earlier Tannaite productions.

It is unnecessary to say that this volume is strictly techni-

cal. It is not likely that it will be used by a very large number of scholars in our land. But to students of Jewish biblical exposition before the appearance of the *Talmud* it will be of great service. Dr. Bacher takes pains to ascertain the exact meaning, or the various meanings, of the words he discusses; and, in the case of the more important words, he adduces examples sufficient to show the linguistic usage, as well as the different shades of signification. The authorities also are given with sufficient exactness, and the value of the work is, in this way, enhanced.

Quotation from a dictionary of this kind is of little value to the general reader. A single word may be taken in order to show the character of Dr. Bacher's work. יו is an important expression in Rabbinical writings. Dr Bacher assigns to it the following significations:—

(1) The act of reading (the noun of action, or gerundive). (2) That which is read (specially, of course, the sacred text; cf. כתוב of the same text, as written). (3) The individual verses or passages of the Bible. (4) The whole of the books of the Bible (the Old Testament Canon). (5) The literary study of the sacred text of Scripture (correspondingly, בישנה was applied to the study of the tradition about Scripture). (6) A designation of the sacred Hebrew text, as in opposition to the Aramaic translation (Targum). (7) A designation of the Old Testament books with the exception of The Torah (this, however, is a rare usage). (8) In the phrase ישׁ־אַם the word בְּמִקרָא, the word מִקרָא is used of what may be called the textus receptus, in a case where the Scription may be disputed. The meaning of the phrase ("there is a mother to the מקרא") is, that the traditional or received text rests on a well-founded tradition, as a child reposes securely on its mother. In this sense, the fuller form of the expression is כַּקְרָא כֹפְנִים.

Thus Dr. Bacher discusses this important word, and with the passages adduced in support of the various meanings, and notes in illustration, he fills four of these large pages.

GEO. G. CAMERON.

#### Le Père de l'Hermite.

Par le R. P. Marius Davies. Paris: Delhomme & Briguet; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate. Pp. 540.

# The Dialogues of Athanasius and Zacchaeus, and of Timothy and Aquila.

Edited by F. C. Conybeare, being part VIII. of Anecdota Oxoniensia (Classical Series). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898. Pp. lvii. + 104. Price 7s. 6d.

It is difficult to give a critical estimate of this Catholic biography by Marius Davies without appearing uncharitable and prejudiced. Père de l'Hermite was one of the Missionary Oblates of Mary the Immaculate, and his life is written by one of his fellow-members of the same order. His work lay chiefly in conducting "Missions" in all parts of France, partly in directing as "Superior" some of the houses of his order. He was plainly a man of genuine piety, of great devotion to his evangelistic work, and possessed of considerable gifts for the task. In many cases he was honoured by notable success following the missions which he held in rural districts. the life of such a man is written in the memories and lives of those he influenced, and there is little else to tell. His biographer has, no doubt, good ground for his enthusiasm, but the book is altogether too long, too monotonous, and too eulogistic to be enjoyed by any but personal friends. For others it does not even afford the desired glimpse into the inner working of the Missionary Order or the social condition of France. And the Protestant reader lays it down with the painful impression that for these good people, in practice at least, the Virgin Mary has simply usurped the throne of Heaven.

These two dialogues, which Mr. Conybeare edits for the first time, belong to a group of Anti-Jewish tracts which are closely interrelated. A third is found in the Altercatio Simonis et Theophili, edited by Professor Harnack in 1883, and Epiphanius de Mensuris as well as the Chronicon Paschale shows correspondences with these dialogues which lead Mr. Conybeare to the conclusion that all derive from a common source. This, he thinks, may have been the lost dialogue of Papiscus and Jason. The dialogues themselves are of no great importance, though they are distinctly interesting as reflections of argumentative methods in the third century, and illustrations of popular exegesis and philosophy of the period. But the most valuable part of this volume will be found in Mr. Conybeare's prolegomena which touch on all important questions suggested by the dialogues.

The most striking of them arises from the peculiarities of the New Testament text from which quotations are made. A long excerpt corresponding with Matthew xxi. 1-16 and 33-41 gives a text which is neither that of one Evangelist nor a combination from several, but contains original matter not found in canonical sources. The important text from the genealogy of Jesus, Matthew i. 16, appears in three forms. The one which Mr. Conybeare pronounces to be that found by the original author of the dialogue in his copy of Matthew corresponds closely with the Sinaitic Syriac, concerning which there was so active a controversy three years ago, and contains the words καὶ ἰωσὴφ ἐγέννησεν τὸν ἰησοῦν τὸν λεγόμενον χριστόν. Several textual correspondences with the Gospel of Peter are also to be noted. Mr. Conybeare does not discuss the bearing of such evidence on the Synoptic text, but it should be added to the already vast material.

C. Anderson Scott.

### Zur Christlichen Erkenntnis: Vorträge und Aufsätze für Denkende Christen.

Von Professor E. F. Karl Müller in Erlangen. Leipzig: Deichert, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. iv + 151. Price 2.40m.

# Erkennen und Schauen Gottes: Beitrag zu einer neuen Erkenntnislehre für Theologen und Nichttheologen.

Von L. Weis. Beiträge zum Kampf um die Weltanschauung. 4 und 5 Heft. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn, 1898. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv + 230. Price 3m.

Professor Karl Müller of Erlangen has printed here nine selected Lectures and Essays on various subjects vitally connected with the Christian faith. While, perhaps, one does not rise from perusing them with any exuberance of enthusiasm, yet they are eminently fitted to attain the author's purpose of aiding Christian men to think out with greater fulness and certainty the implications of their creed. With shrewd self-knowledge Müller remarks in his brief preface that he believes himself "to have received something of the gift of sober instruction, which appears to be indispensable for the formation of clear and simple Christian knowledge and thus for the growth of independent Christian life". These words are a sufficient indication of what the reader of his book may expect.

The work opens with an admirable paper on the hearing of prayer. Nothing can be a greater mistake, he argues, than for Christians to revolt against the conception of natural law, as though the absence of law would furnish the best and most indisputable truth of the Divine government of the world. Prayer presupposes, not a lawless universe, but a living God who uniformly makes nature the servant of His loving purposes of grace. Nor can we understand prayer save as an element in a truly religious life. All Jesus' promises are addressed to personal faith. Such a faith both gives us assurance in offering our petitions and sets bounds to what we may ask. We impoverish the rich and naïve conception of prayer which is to be found in the New Testament when we limit it to spiritual blessings.

Müller has put his best strength, however, into the third Essay, in which he offers us a masterly discussion of the doctrine of election. His supreme purpose is to bring out the practical helpfulness of a firm grasp of that great truth the outset he emphasises the fact that the dogma of predestination is as much Lutheran as Reformed. What we most need to remember is that the roots of belief in election go deep down into the personal experience of the believer, and therefore cannot be destroyed by cold, logical argumentation. Many have to thank a shallow Pelagian view of human freedom for having robbed them of "the comfortable knowledge of God's eternal election". The assurance of faith is vitally connected with the thought of predestination, and sooner or later if the root is cut the blossom will wither. Of all this the experience and testimony of Paul is proof positive for all With true Christian feeling he makes election a personal affair. In the midst of temptation and trial we need this anchor to hold to-all is of grace, and so, "what my weakness did not bring to pass, my weakness cannot destroy".

But how does this chime with Scriptural warnings against falling away? Must not the confident assertion of the perseverance of the saints—which is just election viewed prospectively—take the edge off the most urgent exhortations contained in the New Testament to spiritual vigilance and the repression of the lusts of the flesh? Now it is certain that Scripture does not teach both that grace cannot, and that it can, be lost. But the Christian knows that it is only so long as he believes, personally and vitally, that he can retain the certainty of persevering victoriously to the end. Faith

and living activity are the conditions of assurance. No one can possess assurance who is not at the same time holding fast to God with a trust which ensures his ultimate triumph over every obstacle and every peril. Saving faith must first be present ere assurance can arise. Müller's logic is experimental, not syllogistic, but it is none the worse for that.

In the course of this essay Müller appears to betray something of a Reformed bias against Lutheranism, asserting as he does that in the doctrine of election, firmly held and fearlessly declared, we will find the secret of the blessing which has attended the Calvinistic Churches. It is noticeable, too, that he declines to accept the old Protestant doctrine of reprobation as a logical inference from predestination. He contends with much earnestness for the universality of Divine grace, and surrenders the attempt to reconcile such a view with a strict interpretation of his premises.

The fifth Essay is devoted to a thoughtful and necessary protest against the tendency perceptible in theology, and especially in Ritschlianism, to interpret the kingdom of God too much in terms of the present world. He points outwhat indeed those whom he criticises would find it hard to deny-that the Eschatological aspect of the kingdom is far the more prominent in the New Testament and can never be neglected without loss. Other papers which may be mentioned are those entitled: "The Greatest Thing in the World" (here he breaks a friendly lance with Drummond not unsuccessfully), "Sunday and Sabbath," and "Religious Freedom". The last of these is of peculiar interest for those who are watching with sympathetic attention the decay of Erastianism in Germany. Suffice it to say that the result of Müller's cautious and moderate argument may be summed up in the words with which he closes: "In the National Church probably we have to pave the way for the free Church ".

Though the book is primarily addressed to the thoughtful laity, the theologian will find that it can teach him not a little. It is written with a lucidity and simplicity of which few German professors seem to be capable. And while not

particularly remarkable for vivacity, Müller's singular good sense, subdued warmth of feeling, and plain homely truthfulness, render it most attractive reading.

Herr Weis's book is one more of the numerous modern attempts to break down the wall of separation which stands, in matters of faith, between the cultured and the ignorant, especially on the Continent. Weis is deeply concerned at the growth of a kind of faith very frequently followed by the educated classes—a faith purged of all dogma, often materialistic in tendency, and sadly lacking in ethical fervour and power, while the Christian faith, in its proper sense, is abandoned to the unlearned. The study of philosophy has convinced him that no such duality is necessary. Quite apart from the fact that speculation, from which the intellectualist's creed draws its inspiration, can offer us nothing but nebulous and transitory conceptions of the Divine, the Christian God alone can satisfy the universal heart. And similarly, none but the Christian doctrines have any chance of touching and convincing humanity as a whole. In religion those conceptions are most truly scientific which are universally valid and universally intelligible.

Weis has devoted his book to the proof and elaboration of these positions. He believes that a successful demonstration of their truth would confer a benefit not only on science but on society. The first chapter is occupied with the examination of a multitude of important terms, such as philosophy, nature, matter, life, personality, God; and the attempt is made, with the aid of anthropology and the history of religious and philosophic thought, to determine the universally human and valid element they contain. Following this come chapters dealing with sensation, perception, ideas, conception and knowledge, which are all shown to be stages in the one process of rationally interpreting the given elements of experience. The point he chiefly desires to press, if we understand him rightly, is that all men at bottom employ the same methods of thinking, so that the claim made by many of the enlightened to an esoteric superiority of thought, in process

and in results, is utterly without foundation. The discussion yields this further conclusion, too, that feeling rather than thought is the constitutive factor in religion, and that religion in its essential truth and reality is, consequently, open equally to the ignorant and the learned. In the last chapter—which most readers will feel to be the most interesting in the book—Weis argues at length that the union with God which the human heart has always craved, must be sought, and may be reached, along the lines of feeling rather than of thought. It is the former more than the latter which lays hold of the love of God in Christ. Thought is not the only organ of knowledge; we apprehend reality through feeling also, and even through will. Thought is passive and self-absorbed; feeling and will are the social forces of life. Erkennen is temporal, Schauen is eternal.

The author writes from the standpoint of a man who combines a sympathetic interest in theology and philosophy with a wide knowledge of the history of science. He refers constantly, either in a critical or an illustrative way, to the systems of Plato and Aristotle and to their influence on subsequent thought. One cannot but feel that the book would have been more valuable and have served its apologetic purpose better, if the reader had been given the guidance of some dominant and progressive idea. The movement of the argument is not clearly marked; salient points, salient stages, in the discussion are few. Weis has given us the contents of his notebook with too conscientious generosity. Still the volume is worthy of a welcome as an attempt to reconcile simple faith and culture; and that, not by surrendering the rights of knowledge, but by illustrating and emphasising afresh the Pauline truth that, while knowledge vanishes away, love is eternal.

HUGH R. MACKINTOSH.

#### Die Siloahinschrift, zum Gebrauch bei akademischen Vorlesungen.

- Neu gezeichnet und herausgegeben von Albert Socin, Professor in Leipzig. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 4 + facsimile of Inscription. Price 60 Pf.
- 2. Reich Gottes und Menschensohn im Buche Daniel: Ein Beitrag zum Verständniss seines Grundgedankens.
- Von Lic. Dr. Julius Boehmer, Pfarrer in Raben. Leipzig: A. Deichert; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 8vo, pp. vi. + 216. Price M.3.60.
- A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament.
- By Thomas H. Weir, B.D., Assistant to Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 149. Price, sewed 5s., cloth 6s.
- 4. Hebrew-Babylonian Affinities.
- By Rev. G. Margoliouth, M.A., formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar. London: D. Nutt, 1899. 8vo, pp. 20. Price 1s.
- 5. Zu Jesaja 53: Ein Erklärungsversuch.
- Von Lic. Alfred Bertholet, Professor der Theologie in Basel. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 32. Price 75 Pf.
- 6. Zur Theologie des Alten Testaments: Zwei akademische Vorlesungen.
- Von R. Kittel, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. 31. Price 70 Pf.

# 7. Proverbia-Studien zu der sogenannten Salomonischen Sammlung, c. x.-xxii., 16.

- Von Dr. H. P. Chajes. Berlin: C. A. Schwetschke & Sohn; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. vii. + 46. Price M.1.6o.
- 8. Jesus und das Alte Testament in ihrer gegenseitigen Bezeugung: Zwei Vorträge auf theologischen Kursen gehalten.
- Von Theodor Walker, Pfarrer in Kochersteinfeld. Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann; Edinburgh and London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. v. + 132. Price M.1.50.
- of the Hebrew alphabet and language is well known. Dr. Socin has laid us under a fresh obligation by his latest reproduction of the Inscription. Infinite pains have been taken in the fulfilment of the task, and the result will be generally accepted as eminently satisfactory. An account of the means adopted for securing accuracy in the reproduction, and a note of the differences between the present and Euting's reading of the inscription will be found in the short preface which precedes the facsimile of the text.

[Since writing the above, we have heard, with much regret, of Dr. Socin's death, which will be a heavy blow to the cause of Palestinian research as well as to many other departments of study.]

2. Dr. Boehmer discovers two central ideas in the Book of Daniel, namely that of the Kingdom of God and that of the Son of Man. The first of these underlies the first six chapters, which are intended to bring out the truth that world empire cannot belong permanently to heathen powers, but is to be taken from them and to pass into better hands, those of Israel, while even the empire hitherto exercised by pagan rulers has been possible only by Israel's help and for Israel's sake. We cannot follow our author in his view that no opposition is recognised in the Book of Daniel between the

world empires of heathen powers and the Kingdom of God. He will have it that the meaning of the writer is that God has hitherto bestowed the empire of the world on various parties who have shown themselves unworthy of this trust. It is hard to read this idea into the first six chapters or to admit the correctness of our author's account of the meaning of Daniel's activity, or to trace the development of ideas he finds in the course of the history narrated. His explanation of the bilingual character of the book is also highly artificial and much less natural than such a view as that of Dr. Prince, who supposes that an Aramaic translation of the Hebrew original has been employed where a part of the latter was lost. In chap. vii. our author finds the turning-point, where the two ideas of the Kingdom of God and the Son of Man meet, the latter being the heavenly factor which is destined to introduce the reign of Israel, which forms the subject of chaps, viii.-xii. We disagree entirely with Dr. Boehmer in his contention that the Son of Man is an individual, and not a symbol of the character of the new kingdom, as contrasted with the beasts that symbolise the world empires. Even if Dr. Boehmer can urge that in the Book of Enoch the Son of Man is the personal Messiah, neither this nor the New Testament usage of the title decides what is the original sense of the term.

We do not believe, then, that our author has made out either of his main contentions, but his book will be found to contain much that is of value from the points of view of history, philology and exegesis, and it will repay careful study.

<sup>3.</sup> We have nothing in English that covers exactly the same field as Mr. Weir's Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament. Hebrew students are acquainted of course with the invaluable section dealing with the Early History of the Hebrew Alphabet in Professor Driver's Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (to which the work before us has special obligations), but Mr. Weir deals not only with this subject, but traces the growth of the Hebrew text from its

beginning until it reaches the form in which it appears to the reader of a modern printed Bible. "It has been sought to explain everything which meets the eye on the printed page, or to indicate where such explanation may be readily found." The book has for its frontispiece the Moabite stone inscription in the original script, and it contains a number of valuable plates representing, for instance, the Tell el-Hesy tablet, the Baal Lebanon inscription, the Turin papyrus, the Siloam inscription, the Carpentras stele, various inscribed coins, Jewish and other, and facsimiles of some Hebrew MSS. earliest form of writing, the two Hebrew scripts, the change of script, the preservation of the text, the instances in which the scribes intentionally altered the original reading, the divisions of the text, the antiquity of the points, and similar subjects are discussed with full knowledge, and the book closes with an account of the Manuscripts and Printed Texts. Mr. Weir has produced a work which will prove extremely useful to the student of the Hebrew Bible, and which far surpasses the modest claims made for it by its author.

<sup>4.</sup> The Rev. G. Margoliouth has written a very interesting pamphlet, developing the theory sketched in his article on the Earliest Religion of the Ancient Hebrews in the Contemporary Review of October, 1898. He seeks to find fresh illustrations from the Hebrew Bible of his theory of the identity of the Jahweh cult of the primitive Hebrews with the far-spread adoration of the moon-god, who was in antiquity best known under the name of Sin, and also to prove that another well-known deity of the ancient Eastern world, namely the god Ashshur, was also originally identical with the same widely-honoured moon-god. His examination of the title "Lord of Hosts" and of the references to "exalting the horn," etc., is interesting, and his whole argument, whether perfectly convincing or not, merits consideration.

<sup>5.</sup> By those who interpret the "Servant of Jahweh" not in a collective but in an individual sense, attempts are increasingly made to connect the Servant with some concrete

historical personality. We have had the famous attempt of Sellin to identify him with Zerubbabel, and now we have before us another very ingenious explanation. Professor Bertholet finds a parallel to Isa. liii. in Sir. xxxix. 1-11, the subject of which is "the scribe". The Servant of Jahweh he holds to be "der Tora-Lehrer" in his representative capacity, and he suggests that the martyrdom of Eleazar of 2 Maccabees may have given rise to the specially concrete expressions in Isa. liii. The latter chapter, with the exception of v. 11b, is held by Bertholet to be a later insertion in an original Ebed-Jahweh poem consisting of lii. 13-15 and liii. 11b. This pamphlet deserves careful study for the valuable side lights it throws on exilic and post-exilic Israelitish history, although we cannot say that the author, in spite of the skill and ingenuity of his arguments, has succeeded in convincing us of the correctness of his two main conclusions.

6. This brochure consists of two class lectures by Professor Kittel, one on the Old Testament and Modern Theology, the other on Isa. liii. and the Suffering Messiah in the Old Testament. In the first of these the present character and position of theology are described and contrasted with the state of things a century or even half a century ago. The advantages and the dangers arising from the large extent to which theology has now become a historical study are clearly pointed out, and our author states and argues with much earnestness in favour of the qualities that are needed in order to penetrate into the real meaning of the Old Testament, which will give up its secret only to the believer. Professor Kittel is very successful in showing how faith and free inquiry may be combined. His words will be at once instructive and reassuring to many. The second lecture states well the difficulties of the question who is the Servant of Jahweh; the merits and the defects of the explanations hitherto offered are indicated, and the direction in which it appears to our author that the solution lies is pointed out. The lecture may be advantageously studied alongside of Bertholet's tractate noticed above.

- 7. In this little work Dr. Chajes attempts to restore what he believes to have been an original acrostic structure in Prov. x.-xxii. 16, which forms the larger of the two collections of proverbs traditionally attributed to Solomon. While there appears to us to be a good deal of arbitrariness in our author's procedure, and though we are more than sceptical about the correctness of his theory of the original character of these chapters, and about the success of his reconstruction, we note with pleasure the many valuable elements in his work, particularly the critical notes which demand attention from all students of the text.
- 8. Pfarrer Walker writes well, and there is no mistaking the purity of his motives or his religious earnestness and unaffected piety. And we can imagine readers being captivated by the flowing, harmonious, self-consistent system represented in the two lectures that make up this brochure, and feeling disposed to exchange the toil and the unrest of critical study for the calm repose of unquestioning faith which our author appears himself to enjoy. But the temptation must be resolutely banished. With much of what Pfarrer Walker says about Jesus and the Old Testament and about Jesus in the Old Testament we agree, but we cannot shut our eyes, as he would have us to do, to the overwhelming evidence in favour of critical conclusions which he bids us reject. We would only add that it causes us sincere regret that Pfarrer Walker should revive a practice which we had thought was dead, at least amongst educated Christians, of invoking the name and authority of our Lord in favour of views as to authorship which literary criticism has finally exploded, and methods of exegesis which are hopelessly antiquated. Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis!

J. A. SELBIE.

#### A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation.

By Andrew Lang. In two volumes: Vol. I. With frontispiece. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900. 8vo, pp. xxvii. + 509. Price 15s. net.

Is Mr. Andrew Lang, then, also among the prophets? Where are all his quips and cranks? Where are his smart things, his coined sentences, his sly hits, his clever paradoxes, his fine fancies? And those sudden thrusts of biting sarcasm or contemptuous wit, and the other things which are always a delight to himself and sometimes to his readers—where, where are they all? If they are here, they are not what they once were. They are hidden away in corners here and there, and come upon us rather as surprises than as use and wont. And what we do have here, is Mr. Andrew Lang attempting sober history and writing it, with occasional flashes of the old temper and outbreaks of the old man, in a staid and sober spirit. It is prodigious!

Those who know Mr. Andrew Lang only at a distance, will have some difficulty in taking this in and adjusting themselves to the present situation. Yet if they will only read him they will have to confess that, though his present rôle may look a little unfamiliar, he plays it ably and worthily. He has something even of the historian in him alongside his many and various mental possessions, and he has a good deal of the Scot in him. In other ways he has given attention to Scottish story, especially to the more romantic and debatable passages in it, and he has a very living interest in his subject. He has prepared himself for his task by extensive study, and it need not be said that he writes so that you must read him. His book is different in scope and compass from those of Hill Burton, Tytler and Skene, and in a less degree, from that of Mr. Hume Brown. It wants much that these severally have;

and, in matters of original investigation and minute estimate of evidence, it is not likely to have the reputation that these deservedly have won. But it has excellent qualities to compensate for certain faults or shortcomings. It gives us an independent view of Scotch affairs. It compels us, at various points of the history, to reconsider our accustomed conceptions of things. It provides us with useful and agreeable digests of the results of much specialised investigation. It never suffers the story to lose itself in details, but unfolds it to us in a succession of large and telling pictures. Practising the greatest possible compression in its use of the vast mass of material which has to be handled, it keeps its narrative, nevertheless, always lucid and attractive. It imparts a welcome unity to its subject by following out the great ideas which are conceived to have been at work in it. It adds to the interest of the whole by the wise attention which it gives to the social usages characteristic of the different periods, and to the internal conditions of national life. Lang's object, he tells us, "has been to examine the elements and forces which went to the making of the Scottish people, and to record the more important events which occurred between the Roman occupation and the death of Cardinal Beaton in 1546". He has succeeded in doing this, and has given us an excellent example of what a general history should be. He has added to the attractions of his book by introducing "the element of personal character and adventure" to a large extent.

He begins at once with the Roman occupation. Every one is entitled to begin where he pleases, and he is a wise man who does not select unfamiliar ground for his point of issue. In starting where he does, however, Mr. Lang deprives us of a good deal. The whole subject of the Roman occupation is summarily dealt with in eighteen pages, and the difficult and interesting questions bearing on the condition of things prior to the Roman invasion—the various questions of race, custom, language, religion, etc.—are only touched. The competing theories of Skene and Rhys regarding Scots and Picts, the Aryan or non-Aryan relations of the latter,

etc., are stated, and a good summary is given of their several arguments, but that is about all. Much that we should like to get in a History of the Scottish people, Mr. Lang leaves to the specialists in language, ethnology and archæology. The following chapter, entitled "After the Romans," is also much briefer than we could wish. All that refers to the Druids, the work of St. Ninian, Palladius, Patricius, Columba, Kentigern, the early collisions between Celts and English, the theory of Presbyterian Culdees, the religious controversies of the period, the genius of the Columban Church, the disappearance of the tribal Church in the Church of the Empire—all this and much else we find disposed of as shortly as the Roman occupation. The dynasties of Kenneth Macalpine and Malcolm Canmore are dealt with more adequately, and the chapter on "Early Culture" in Scotland, with its concise statements on crannoges, brochs, earth-houses, motes, etc., and its accounts of life and poetry, building, dress, weapons and ornaments, miracles, second-sight, and the like, is particularly interesting. The sixth chapter, which deals with feudal Scotland, is also one that will be read with satisfaction. This is especially the case with what it says of the work of David I., the survival of Celtic institutions in the Highlands, heathen survivals, the constitution of the burghs, the germs of Parliament, popular life and popular culture, and the nation's debt to the Church in the education of the people. Mr. Lang's characteristic prejudices, however, are sometimes too much for his self-control here. He likes to have his fling (who can have the heart to grudge him it, if it is such a pleasure to him?) at what he calls "the unhistorical spirit of triumphant Protestantism". He writes of that "golden age of Scotland" as if it were something far superior to the times after the Reforma-He speaks as if the destruction or the decay of all that was beautiful or splendid in the ancient architecture of our country must be charged against the Reformers. He describes the Scotland of that period as if it had been covered with churches that were marvels of art, and as if every parish had ecclesiastical buildings of fairest form and most imposing proportions. He has a long wail over the loss of these rare

structures, and this is what he says in the heart of it all: "What Iffley Church is (well-known to every Oxford man), the parish churches of Scotland doubtless were under King David, but the Reformation swept over them, and they are not." There are some kinds of investigation that are lost on Mr. Andrew Lang, but imagination is not one of the gifts that a considerate Providence has denied him.

The interest of the book deepens when we come to Wallace, the wars of Bruce, and the reaction. The Stuart period occupies the remaining eight chapters. The changeful, perplexed and romantic story of these times is told at considerable length, and with remarkable power. Here Mr. Lang shows us how he can lead us through the intricate movements of dynastic interest and political aspiration, and gives us to see how Scotland was being made by a variety of influences and a succession of events which seem at first to have little connexion with the place it was to occupy and the part it was to play. It is in these chapters that Mr. Lang is at his best. They contain much that commands assent. There are a good many things in them, also, that invite comment.

He gives a grateful and generous estimate of Wallace. There is no disposition to make little of his services or to besmirch his reputation. Joan of Arc is to him Wallace's best historical parallel. What he says of him is this: "Wallace died as Archibald Cameron was to die in 1753, untried, by the same brutal method, and for the same crime. Like the limbs of Montrose, the limbs of Wallace were scattered 'to every airt'. The birds had scarcely pyked the bones bare before Scotland was again in arms, which she did not lay down till the task of Wallace was accomplished. We know little of the man, the strenous, indomitable hero. He arises at his hour like Jeanne d'Arc; like her he wins a great victory; like her, he receives a sword from a saint; like her's, his limbs were scattered by the English; like her, he awakens a people; he falls into obscurity; he is betrayed and slain. The rest is mainly legend. He seems ruthless and strong, like some avenging Judge of Israel; not gentle and winning like the

Maid, but he shares her immortality. For the scattered members, long ago irrecoverable, of the hero no stately grave has been built, as for the relics of the great Marquis of Montrose. But the whole of a country's soil, as Pericles said, is her brave men's common sepulchre. Wallace has left his name on crag and camp—

'Like a wild flower, All over his dear country'."

Of Bruce he speaks in more mixed terms, and, as it appears to us, not with perfect justice. He says some strong things about the inconsistencies, vacillations and "veerings" of his earlier career, without sufficient regard to the circumstances in which Bruce was placed. He takes his account of the Red Comyn's death chiefly from English sources, and describes Bruce simply as "murderer" in that tragic scene. He has something to say of "Barbour's tale of Bruce suggesting retreat" the day before Bannockburn. What he does say is not borne out by Barbour himself. He gives, however, a very different picture of the Bruce of the period after the slaying of the Red Comyn. "Before that deed," he says, "he is unscrupulously and perfidiously self-seeking, nor are great traits of excellence of any kind recorded of his youth. After the deed in the Grey Friars' Church Bruce displays unflinching resolution, consummate generalship, brilliant courage, perfect courtesy, consideration, reading, humour and wisdom. Patriotism, new-born in his time, was then, in a great degree, attachment to such a king as well as to country." does not feel that Mr. Lang has grasped the Bruce. interpretation of the man and his acts does not hang well together.

Mr. Lang is strong in his likings, and also strong, inordinately strong, in his hates. His favourite aversions are the Douglas family and John Knox. He touches the height of his passion when he deals with the Douglases; no words are too violent for him. Here is what he says of them generally: "Few things in Scottish history have been more disguised in popular books than the conduct of the house of Douglas.

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The comradeship of Bruce and the good Lord James has thrown a glamour over the later Douglasses—men princely in rank, daring in the field, but often bitterly anti-national, the partiality of Hume of Godscroft, their sennachie or legendary historian, the romances of Pitscottie, the ignorance or prejudice of Protestant writers like Knox and Buchanan, the poetry of Scott, and the Platonic Protestantism of Mr. Froude, have concealed the selfish treachery of the house of Angus." One should have liked to hear the "Platonic Protestant" Mr. Froude on Mr. Andrew Lang and outbursts like these. And almost every individual Douglas fares as badly as can be at Mr. Lang's hand.

One of his favourite predilections is the old Scotch clergy, the matchless pre-Reformation Church. He does not altogether ignore the shortcomings of that Church, nor does he wholly spare the vices of the clergy. But he touches these with a comparatively light hand, and he gives us the impression that Scotland was served by the old clergy as it was not by any other class then and never has been since. "The clergy," he says, "saved Scotland's freedom. They later preached for it, died for it on the gibbet, and imperilled for it their immortal souls, as we shall see, by frequent and desperate perjuries. Without them Bruce must have warred in vain. Scottish independence was in part the gift of 'Baal's shaven sort,' Knox's 'fiends' (friars) and 'bloudie bishops'." The clergy have done much for Scotland in all ages, and among the ecclesiastics of the old Church there are not a few men of high character, large parts, and strenuous patriotism. But there is an element of exaggeration in Mr. Lang's eulogies. The laity also did its part, and in its ranks, too, there were men equal to the best of the clerics. If Mr. Lang had anything like the generosity and charity for others that he expends upon the ancient clergy, how different would his judgment be of many men and some memorable passages in Scottish history!

His mind is almost as much aflame when he has to speak of the Scottish Reformation, Protestantism, or John Knox, as when he comes on the track of a Douglas. His antipathies break out in the most unexpected quarters. Whenever he has the chance, even when he is discoursing of things that might seem to be well apart, he pauses to fling a stinging phrase at Knox or a jibe at the Reformers. It is the Reformers who "removed everything lovely out of the way". Protestantism is charged with changing the national sentiment for the worse. "Till Protestantism altered the national sentiment of Scotland," we are told, "till David Beaton was foully slain, till Knox came on the scene, till France was suspected of ill faith, the Scottish people, man, woman and child, were ready to die rather than bow the neck to England." Is it then the case that the Reformers were no patriots, and that the Reformation made the Scottish people unpatriotic? In much that Mr. Lang says of Knox, as, for instance, in his "contradictions" of himself in the case against Mary of Guise, he treads lightly on very debatable ground. Those who know the sources far better than Mr. Lang will refute or correct his statements in matters of detail. But, apart from inaccuracies here and there, Mr. Lang's fault is that he seems unable to understand Knox or to do him justice. We shall look with expectation to what he may have to say in his second volume on the Reformers and their great leader. But so far as the present volume shows, he has neither the fairness nor the vision of Mr. Froude. The whole account which he gives of Knox here, indeed, is so indeterminate where it is not suspicious or harsh, that he has found it necessary to take refuge in the pages of the Athenaum and explain himself there. He takes the high ground, of course, of unusual impartiality and most careful avoidance of any sacrifice of absolute historical veracity. The explanation was needed, and it is welcome. But it does not carry us far for all that. If Mr. Lang is to do justice to Knox, there are a good many sentences, some of them very far from fair, that he had better strike out of the present volume. Mr. Lang is a man of great gifts. There is much in him. But it does not appear from this book that it is in him to understand either Knox or the Reformation of religion in Scotland. But who knows what his second volume may reveal? And who will venture to predict what his next achievement may be? With the deductions which we grieve to be obliged to make, he has done an able piece of work in a somewhat new line. He has shown us that he can write sober history. What field is he next to take for his own? Is it the case that he is busy on a volume of Sermons?

S. D. F. SALMOND.

#### Notices.

Professor Hermann Schultz contributes an important article to the April number of the American Journal of Theology, on "The Significance of Sacrifice in the Old Testament," in which he makes grateful reference to Professor Robertson Smith's Religion of the Semites, while he says that its last conclusions "probably transcend the possibilities of actual proof". He describes sacrifice in early Israel as "the actual life of religion," and traces carefully the developments in idea and in practice. He recognises very early material in the sacrificial laws in the priestly Torah, and thinks that, up to the point of the sin-offerings and guilt-offerings, the sacrifices of the law were "simply the expression of the worship of God and the desire to gratify Him through honorary and hospitable gifts". The laws concerning sin-offerings and guilt-offerings leave the impression, he thinks, of "composi-. tion from various sacrifice rituals". He is also of opinion that the conception of vicarious suffering or penalty in the sinoffering is "inadmissible," and that that oblation was simply a purificatory rite. The guilt-offering, on the other hand, "transfers us to the sphere of ancient civil rights," and means an actual payment.

The second part of the Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums, edited by Dr. Ermin Preuschen and published by the Rickersche Verlagsbuchhandlung in Giessen, has some very good papers, e.g., one by Dr. W. Bousset on the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; one by the editor, on the "Armenian Translation of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs"; and one by Dr. Hans Achelis on the question whether there are any traces of primitive Christianity in the Greek islands, in which the text of the most important inscriptions discovered in recent

times is carefully examined. We wish this new journal much success.

The first six parts of the year's issue of the Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift, edited by Dr. Gustav Holtzhauer of Munich, are to hand. Among other able and instructive articles in these numbers, we may refer to those by Oberpastor Luther on "Christian Freedom and Pelagianism," in parts 4, 5 and 6; an estimate by Deacon Büttner of Zinzendorf's services to theology, in part 5; and two papers by Professor Zahn of Erlangen, in parts 5 and 6, which deal with the additions that have been made, in the course of the nineteenth century, to the number of original documents relating to the history and literature of the ancient Church.

We receive with pleasure the first part of the fourth volume of the Zeitschrift für Hebräische Bibliographie, published by J. Kauffmann of Frankfurt, and carefully edited, with the assistance of other scholars, by Dr. A. Freeman and Dr. H. Brody. It is a small, but useful journal, aiming at serving the object of a central organ for Jewish literature.

The Erskines 1 is the subject of the thirty-fourth volume of the "Famous Scots Series". The author is the Rev. Dr. · A. R. MacEwen of Glasgow, and no better choice of a writer could have been made. Dr. MacEwen knows his subject thoroughly and, while himself a man of the modern spirit, is in entire sympathy with the story he has to relate. He writes also with a careful impartiality, which is by no means blind to the mistakes and shortcomings of the "Secession Fathers". He writes also in a clear and telling style, on the basis of an intimate acquaintance both with the writings of the Erskines themselves and with contemporary literature. He has given us an appreciation of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine which we feel to be just and well-founded. With that he has given us also an excellent sketch of the times in which they lived, the movement with which they were especially connected, and the ecclesiastical condition of Scotland in the beginning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By A. R. MacEwen. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Pp. 160. Price 18 6d.

of the eighteenth century. It is one of the best contributions hitherto made to the series of which it forms a part. The statement of results, which is given in the closing chapter, deserves particular attention. Dr. MacEwen reminds us that the Erskines left their best work, not in their books, but in "the religious history and the Church life of Scotland"; that they "set on foot a Church expressly evangelical," depending on fidelity in preaching the gospel message; and that their work had, at the same time, another side, that of teaching, declaring and formulating "ideas of Christian liberty," which were really new things at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The personal religious life of the two brothers is dealt with not less carefully and sympathetically than their public work and their place in the ecclesiastical history of their country. Nor is Dr. MacEwen unmindful of the things that distinguished the one from the other-the greater calmness, not to say frigidity of Ebenezer, the more attractive and genial personality of Ralph, the unbending, practical, covenant-making ways of Erskine, the wit, the story-telling turn, the poetic vein, the musical faculty, the violin-loving disposition of Ralph. Justice is also done to their pulpit gifts, and an adequate account is given of their doctrinal views, their repugnance to mere "legal" preaching, and their insistence on the deep things of grace, faith and free forgiveness for Christ's sake.

Anything from the pen of the late Fenton John Anthony Hort is welcome. A volume of Village Sermons in Outline 1 will be gladly received for more reasons than one. It shows how a great scholar and a man of severely academic habit sought to adapt himself to village hearers in the manner as well as in the matter of his preaching. It is also of value for its suggestive matter. The outlines are quite brief, and in each there is a single line of thought. But all proceed on an exact study of the passage and are expressed in the clearest and most direct terms. Of special interest are the two series on the "Sermon on the Mount" and the "Resurrection".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 267. Price 6s.

What Scotch heart is there that does not leap up to "The Land o' the Leal," "Caller Herrin'," "The Rowan Tree," "The Auld Hoose, the Auld Hoose"? Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, the writer of these and other songs, is not likely to be forgotten by her countrymen. Yet too little is known about her, and the author of the small, but tasteful volume, Lady Nairne and her Songs,1 by supplying our lack has done a service for which many will be grateful. The book has some admirable illustrations and some interesting fac-similes. It has an attractive story to tell, and it is very neatly got up. It gives us an excellent picture of a Scottish lady, who was not more remarkable for her talents (and these were rich) than for her charity, her liberality and her gracious, winsome character. "Her coffers," it has been said by one who has the right to speak, "might have been inscribed with that fine motto which is sometimes seen in hospitals abroad— 'Christo in pauperibus' 'To Christ in the poor'." Mr. Henderson has gone to his task con amore. He has taken pains to collect and sift the available material, and has given us a book which is a pleasure to read.

The author of Present Day Lessons from Habakkuk, a Survey of Foreign Missions, etc., the Rev. P. Barclay, issues a volume on Renewal in the Church.<sup>2</sup> It is an expansion of a discourse on Psalms lxxxv. 6, preached, some years ago, with special reference to the subject of revivals. It contains many pertinent and useful remarks on renewal as "an incentive to work and a fountain of joy," dealing in succession with the "Prayer of the Church," "Unselfish Prayer and Work," "Encouragement from the Past" and "Joy in God". A sermon on I Cor. ii. 9, 10, is added, and a series of well-chosen selections from a number of writers of our own time is given in an Appendix. Mr. Barclay writes with a serious intent. He knows, at the same time, how to make effective use both of humour and of fit quotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By the Rev. George Henderson, M.A., B.D., Monzie Free Church, Perthshire. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 102. Price 2s. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 188.

Messrs. Ahrens and Krüger supply a want by publishing an excellent German translation of the so-called Church History of Zacharias Rhetor.1 The various questions of historical and literary interest are dealt with in a concise and scholarly fashion in an Introduction of a little more than forty pages. The volume is a very satisfactory addition to the Teubner Library.

We have pleasure in noticing Jacob at Bethel,2 the second of the series of "Studies on Biblical Subjects" by A. Smythe Palmer, D.D., a scholarly and helpful book, examining the Vision, the Stone and the Anointing in the light of Comparative Religion, and illustrating these incidents in the story of the patriarch by a wealth of analogy and parallel instance drawn from a variety of sources; a new Metrical Version of the Psalms, by John Albert Robertson, which has, generally speaking, the merit of simplicity, boldness and vigour; The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial,4 by Rocksborough R. Smith, B.A., Scholar of Selwyn College, Cambridge, a brief but careful inquiry into the circumstances under which the Epistle to the Philippians was written, following in the main, Professor Ramsay's views, arguing for the later date of the Epistle (between the earlier stages of Paul's trial before the Emperor and the giving of the verdict), as best explaining the personal allusions in the letter; a series of thoughtful, devout Lenten Lectures, on The Sixfold trial of our Lord and The Prayers of Christ, by the late Rev. G. E. Broade, M.A., for many years chaplain of St. Andrew's Church, Biarritz; a collection of religious meditations, under the title of The King and His Servants,6 prepared by E. M. Dewhurst for use "in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Die so-genannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor, in deutscher Uebersetzung, herausgegeben von K. Ahrens, Gymnasialoberlehrer in Ploen und G. Krüger, Professor der Theologie in Giessen. Leipzig: Teubner. Cr. 8vo, pp. xlv. + 417. Price M.10.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: David Nutt, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 187. Price 2s. 6d. net. <sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 249. Price 5s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Cambridge: Macmillan & Bowes, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Small cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 76. Price

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 247.

households where a want has been felt of something to read at Sunday evening family prayers," and very suitable for such a purpose; a Memoir of the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., Rector of St. Vedast and Sub-Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, by W. J. Sparrow Simpson, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Regent's Park, a modest and interesting sketch of an attractive character and a studious and useful career: another section. the first part of the nineteenth volume, of Holtzmann and Krüger's Theologischer Jahresbericht,2 giving the literature in Biblical Exegesis for 1800; a small volume by Maud Curwen. Thorkel Mani and other Poems,3 containing some good sonnets and other pieces in different metres, which have some music in them, and some ideas pleasingly expressed; a well-written and instructive account of Robert Raikes; the man who founded the Sunday School, by J. Henry Harris, editor of Robert Raikes; the man and his work.

A new series of Historical Handbooks, or, more correctly, Biographical Studies, was announced some time ago as in preparation, under the title of "The World's Epoch-Makers". It is extensive in its range and catholic in its selection of subjects. A place is found within it for personalities of largest influence and greatest historical interest all the way from Buddha to Wesley and Newman. We have now three volumes before us. With these, the series, which promises to do credit to its editor, Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, makes a good beginning. The first volume deals with Cranmer and the English Reformation.<sup>5</sup> It is by the competent hand of Mr. A. D. Innes, who has already written ably on Britain and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 203. Price 4s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Bearbeitet von Siegfried und Holtzmann, Berlin, Schwetschke und Sohn; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. 8vo, pp. 169. Price 9s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>London: S. Rentell & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 39. Price 1s. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> London: The Sunday School Union. Imp. cr. 8vo, pp. 142. Price 1s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> By Arthur D. Innes, M.A., sometime Scholar of Oriel College, Oxford. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii.+199. Price 3s.

her Rivals in the Eighteenth Century, Seers and Singers, etc. The subject is much more difficult than it seems. Mr. Innes is sensible of that. He does his best to guard against party bias, and to strike the balance fairly. He is well aware, too, of the disadvantage under which one who has to write of Cranmer is placed in comparison with those who have to write of Luther, Calvin or other reformers of the first rank, whether in ecclesiastical, or in intellectual, or in social movements. He shows no little skill in facing this disadvantage, and exerts himself to present a telling picture of the man who, among those "who worked for the Reformation, has the fewest friends," and whose peculiar position is, that he ranks as "the least of the martyrs".

What Mr. Innes has to say of Cranmer's character is well He constructs a strong case for a more favourable estimate of him than we often get. He is at pains to bring out the nobler elements which have to be set over against the weakness and seeming vacillation of which so much has been made. He gives also a very good account of Cranmer's doctrinal position, his theory of the subordination of Church to State, and his services in connection with the English rendering of the Prayer-book. He is less successful, we think, in claiming for Cranmer the distinction of setting the English Reformation forth on its career with the peculiar qualities of breadth, liberality and comprehension. general estimate of the man and his work, however, and the view which is given of the period in which he lived, are just. The volume contains much that will repay the reader. The historical narrative is always clear and forcible; at times it is picturesque, and, when occasion calls, it becomes impressive.

The second volume now before us is Mr. Snell's Wesley and Methodism.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Snell has a ready and flowing pen. Whatever faults or defects may be charged against his book, it cannot be said of it that the interest of its story is ever permitted to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By F. J. Snell, M.A. (Oxon), Author of *The Fourteenth Century* (Periods of European Literature). Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 243. Price 3s.

flag. We confess, however to the feeling that it lacks something. Mr. Snell's facility in writing betrays him too often into slip-shod sentences. These are the more vexing when one sees that, with a moderate measure of care, the writer could do so much better. But, apart from this, the account which Mr. Snell gives us of Wesley and the beginnings of Methodism, while interesting, and in many respects appreciative in a high degree, scarcely goes to the root of the matter. Both in the man and in the movement, there were deeper spiritual experiences and larger forces at work than find expression here. Nor is Mr. Snell, by any means, the best of guides on the theology of his subject. He is not sufficiently exact in his use of terms; nor does he seem to have an adequate insight into Wesley's doctrinal attitude and teaching, although he has been at pains to read his writings.

On the other hand, Mr. Snell writes well on the broader and more obvious aspects of the times to which Wesley belonged, the religious conditions that gave birth to Methodism, and the characteristics of the Wesleyan movement. He does justice to the nobler elements in Wesley's character, while he has an eye to things that are open to criticism in the man and his career. His estimate of what Wesley and Methodism did for England is well put. He claims that "Methodism arrested national decay and infused new life into Christianity". He admits that Wesley's direct influence in the political sphere was not happy, but he thinks it nevertheless "every way probable that the influence of that high Tory over the masses did much to prevent an English analogue of the French Revolution by absorbing into the ranks of Methodism those who would naturally have been its leaders ". He would have us see that "the emancipation of the slaves, and, after that, other emancipations, were the reflection and the fruit of that inward emancipation of which Wesley was the preacher". And he makes this further statement of the service rendered by Methodism-" The Evangelical Movement and the Oxford Movement in the Church of England were both founded on the principle that religion was something other, something higher, than an aspect of civil life.

This principle, which in the eighteenth century had been fairly lost, Wesley and his companions were bold enough to reassert."

The other volume of the "World's Epoch-Makers" series now to hand, deals with Luther and the German Reformation.1 It is by Professor T. M. Lindsay of the Free Church College, Glasgow. Professor Lindsay is fortunate in having such a subject. It is a great theme, and one of undying interest. The editor is no less fortunate in the selection of the author. Professor Lindsay has long been a student of Luther. He has also a large and matured acquaintance with the German Reformation. His book gives a fresh and independent study. It is written in a clear and unaffected style, and leaves us with a satisfactory impression of Luther and his period. The usefulness of the volume is increased by a very full bibliography, and an admirable chronological summary. Some valuable remarks are made on the kind of Church which Luther founded, its special features, the disappointing things in its career, and the elements in it which explain these things. Professor Lindsay also says something to the purpose on the democratic and economic aspects of the Reformation Movement, and on Luther's defective apprehension and sympathy as regarded that side of the great upheaval. The unique greatness of Luther, however, the creative order of his personality, and the exceptional magnitude of his work are recognised and stated as they can be only by one who understands the sixteenth century and sees in the German monk one of the world's unchallengeable heroes. The volume is an admirable contribution to the series.

Mr. Barnes has written a large book on St. Peter in Rome and his Tomb on the Vatican Hill.<sup>2</sup> It is a book of very mixed value, but containing much interesting matter. It is somewhat sumptuous in its external form, and is richly illustrated. It would be worth purchasing were it only for the drawings

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 300. Price 3s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> By Arthur Stapylton Barnes, M.A. London: Swan Sonnenschein. Large 8vo. Price 21s.

of old St. Peter's, the interesting plans and elevations, and the reproductions of rare prints which enrich its pages. It also gives ample evidence of the author's industrious and painstaking studies, as well as of his enthusiasm for his subject and his whole-hearted persuasion that he is on the right track. Its chief defects, and they are serious, are its uncritical spirit and its lack of exact scholarship.

The book falls into two parts, of which the second is the larger and the more valuable. In the first part, Mr. Barnes gives us his version of the Apostle's career, in particular during the period between his departure from Palestine and his Martyrdom. Here he holds the strict Roman Catholic position. He has no doubt either about Peter's mission to Rome, which is one thing, or about his residence in Rome as bishop for a number of years, which is quite another thing. He has no hesitation about filling up the narrative of the Book of Acts, according to his own ideas. The historian, e.g., says simply, "And he departed and went into another place" (Acts xii., 17). Mr. Barnes is able, not only to assure us that Peter went to Rome, but to indicate the places which he took in the course of his journey thither. He ventures to assert, too, not only that Catholic writers of all times have taken the Babylon of I Peter v. 13 to be Rome, but that "of late years, all other scholars, whether Protestant or Rationalistic, have given in their adhesion to this view". Mr. Barnes requires to extend his reading considerably, so far as concerns Protestant contributions to the study of the New Testament. In this section of his book, we have little beyond a dutiful repetition of what is accepted in the Roman Catholic Church.

In the second part of his work he is on different ground. Here he is the ecclesiastical archæologist with something of his own to say. Here, too, his attitude is freer. He subjects Lanciani, Marrucchi, De Rossi and other Roman Catholic authorities in matters antiquarian to repeated criticism. Some of his own opinions are very open to question, and all too obviously lacking in historical evidence. But he has brought together a great deal of curious and interesting information.

It would be difficult indeed to name any other book that presents so large a collection of facts and fancies bearing on the history of the great church of St. Peter's and the Apostle's tomb in Rome. The changes which took place in St. Peter's, during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are chronicled with great detail. With regard to the tomb itself, Mr. Barnes tells all that there is to tell about its present condition. As to its early history, he takes the usual Roman Catholic view. As against Duchesne, he holds that the bodies of Paul and Peter lay in the catacombs while the tombs were being constructed, and that they were afterwards deposited where they still continue to rest. Mr. Barnes does not possess the historical faculty. He commits himself to many things that will not stand the test of criticism. But his book has a worth of its own; it is a great repertory of curious information. It has much that is of interest in those lines of antiquarian investigation in which its author is an independent worker.

The decease of Dr. Mitchell of St. Andrews was no ordinary loss to students of the history of the Scottish Church. That subject was his life-long study, nor was there any man in broad Scotland better entitled to be heard on its most contested passages. His work was always patient and surefooted—never showy or inexact. We rejoice, therefore, to have his Baird Lectures on The Scottish Reformation: Its Epochs, Episodes, Leaders and Distinctive Characteristics.¹ It was the last work to which he put his hand, and it is one of much interest. Valuable as it is in itself, it is made more so by the careful editing of Mr. Hay Fleming, than whom we have no more reliable student, none more minutely and accurately conversant with the history of the Scottish Church and Nation. Readers, who take Mr. Andrew Lang's History in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Being the Baird Lecture for 1899. By the late Alexander F. Mitchell, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor of Church History in St. Andrews University. Edited by D. Hay Fleming, LL.D. With a biographical sketch of the author by James Christie, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. +318. Price 6s.

hand, will do well to read alongside of it this book by Dr. Mitchell and check a good many statements that are ventured on in the former by what is said by two pre-eminently competent authorities in the latter. One of the most interesting chapters in the present volume is the one on Alesius, in which all the information that is available on the career of this too little known Scotchman, and much of it is comparatively novel, is presented in an inviting form. Mitchell's mature judgments of certain passages in Knox's life, of other outstanding figures in the story of the Scottish Reformation, of the constitution of the Reformed Church, the value of her confession, her books of discipline, etc., are recorded here, and are worthy of all consideration. Dr. Christie's biographical sketch is also welcome. It gives a good picture of a man no less beloved for his personal work than respected for his learning.

Dr. R. McCheyne Edgar of Dublin has long been interested in the history and principles of the Reformation, and has been giving lectures to students for a number of years on the subject. He now publishes a Handbook under the title of The Genius of Protestantism, in which he presents the main results of his studies, and works out his argument against the Roman Catholic position. The acute stage which has been reached by the sacerdotal question in England and the recent development of the controversy between the Roman Catholic Church and the Anglican, make the appearance of a book like this peculiarly opportune, and Dr. Edgar's work is well worth careful study. The author is no friend of compromise, neither is he accustomed to beat about the bush. Occasionally his words may seem too strong and his indictments too unqualified. But he is always master of his subject, and writes with a profound sense of the magnitude of the issues involved in the conflict between the two great ideas of Church, Priesthood and Sacrifice. On all that relates to the nature of the Chris-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Genius of Protestantism. By R. McCheyne Edgar, M.A., D.D. Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier. Cr. 8vo, pp. xviii.+348. Price 6s.

tian ministry, the meaning of the sacraments, the doctrines of transubstantiation and baptismal regeneration, the practice of auricular confession, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of Saints, the reader will find in this book a mass of matter carefully collected and clearly arranged that will help him much in seeing his way through a controversy which has continued for centuries and is again in a condition of urgency. The Scriptural argument is stated at considerable length and with much skill. The sacerdotal contentions are fairly stated, as they are expressed in authoritative documents and by their most accredited advocates. Along these two lines, Dr. Edgar carries us patiently and convincingly to his main conclusion, which is that Protestantism is essentially a return to Apostolic faith and practice.

Having done this the author addresses himself next to the task of showing that Protestantism is a witness to itself by what it has done for the purity of the Church, the progress of thought, and the good of society. The chapters which deal with this aspect of the case are full of interest. They give us a true and forcible view of what the Protestant spirit has done for the cause of freedom, for the sanctity of the family, for science and for commerce, for education, philanthropy, the progress of national life, the removal of long-standing wrongs and the rectification of ancient inequalities. So bringing Protestantism finally to the tribunal of history, Dr. Edgar claims that there, too, the verdict must be given decisively in its favour. At times the book is open to the charge of a certain, not unnatural exaggeration. But it is a contribution of much value to an important subject and deserves to be widely read.

Mr. Askwith, the author of the useful volume on *The Epistle to the Galatians* which has already been noticed in this *Review*, publishes a study of *The Christian Conception of Holiness*. His object is to "set forth the answer contained in the Christian Revelation to the question which Moral Philosophy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By E. H. Askwith, M.A., Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv.+258. Price 6s.

has asked, and must ask, What is the rationale of man's moral nature?" He thinks the answer is contained in the conception of holiness as it is given in the New Testament. What he aims at doing, therefore, is to define what that conception is by tracing it in its different forms along the course of Revelation from its first physical connotation and connections in the early stage of the Old Testament history, through the teaching of the Prophets until it comes to its final, spiritual expression in the teaching of Christ and the Apostles.

Mr. Askwith takes a roundabout way of getting to his goal. Out of the twelve chapters of which his book consists, no less than four are given to preliminary questions of philosophy and ethics, relating to the ideas of moral duty, virtue, right and good, conscience and reason, happiness and the good. Only with the sixth chapter does he come to his proper subject. Here he deals with the Old Testament conception of holiness in an interesting and well-informed way, following Robertson Smith in his main positions. ideas of the Kingdom of Heaven, the Divine Fatherhood, the Fall, the Atonement, and the Holy Catholic Church are then considered at some length, a statement being also given of the Pauline Theology in particular. In the heart of these chapters which deal with the Biblical matter proper, we have again a semi-philosophical disquisition introduced on the Will.

The book reminds us of Bishop Westcott's doctrine of the "Gospel of Creation". There is a certain indefiniteness in its general position. Its interpretations of doctrinal New Testament passages are sometimes strange enough, especially those bearing on the Fall, the Atonement, etc. The account which the Book of Genesis gives of man's pristine condition is treated as purely "ideal," by which is meant that it is an account not of man's beginnings but of his goal, not of what he ever actually was, but of what he is meant, in the eternal purpose, to be. The general result of the book, which contains much that is true and suggestive, is that the rationale of man's moral nature is to be found in Christ, in the life which

He exhibits and inculcates, as He is the revelation of a God who has "no thought for Himself".

Higher on the Hill,<sup>1</sup> by the Rev. A. Benvie, B.D., is a series of discourses on Old and New Testament subjects, including Jacob, Job and Balaam, etc., conceived in the spirit that claims for the present day a superiority over all others in insight into Christian truth, and deals at times with old beliefs in a very off-hand manner, but written with considerable acumen and in telling pulpit form.

A Religion that will wear,<sup>2</sup> is a layman's statement of faith, vague enough in some things, but intended to meet the case of the agnostic, and containing some helpful things both in the writer's own remarks and in extracts from others.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: James Clarke. Cr. 8vo, pp. 341. Price 5s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke. Cr. 8vo. Price 2s. 6d.

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By Augustus Hopkins Strong, President and Professor of Biblical Theology in the Rochester Theological Seminary. Author of "Systematic Theology," "Philosophy and Religion," and "The Great Poets and their Theology." Philadelphia: The Roger Williams Press. 8vo, pp. xix + 524. Price 12s. 6d.

## Chapters from Aristotle's Ethics.

By. J. H. Muirhead, M.A., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Mason University College, Birmingham. London: John Murray, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. ix. + 319. Price 7s. 6d.

WE could read Dr. Strong's book with appreciation and with pleasure, were it published in two separate volumes. As it is, we have read it with feelings which we do not call pleasurable. The first eight chapters form an ethical treatise of very considerable value, and if we had these 181 pages in a separate volume, we should not have our attention distracted, and our thoughts scattered by the miscellaneous contents of the chapters which follow. In fact, President Strong seems to have gathered into one volume the fugitive pieces which fell from his pen on various occasions throughout the years of his active work. We can understand the feeling which led him to find a permanent home for these lectures and addresses. But we fear that he has so overloaded his book with them as to frighten readers, and to scare them away from the perusal of his treatise. These papers deserve a place, but that place is not here. "Fifty years of Theology," "State and Church in 1492 and in 1892," "Our Baptist Advantage in America," "The Decree of God the Great Encouragement to Missions," are topics of interest to many people. "Qualifications for the Ministry," "Ernest Renan," "Charles G. Finney," are also not devoid of interest. Yet to find these discussed at length in a book bearing the title, Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism, is somewhat startling and somewhat disappointing. Most people who write at all usually have in their possession a number of essays, lectures and papers to which they attach some value: happily for the world they have too much self-restraint to print them. At all events, they do not spoil their books by making them a deposit for the overflow of literary activity. Mrs. Carlyle wrote, "the mixing up of things is the great bad," and what she wrote is true with regard to this book. The essays and lectures are not bad in themselves, but they are bad in the place they occupy in this book.

Leaving the essays behind us, we look for a little at the treatise on "Ethical Monism." The essential position of the author is this, "that a Monism which makes room for the transcendence of God and the separate personality of man—a Monism which recognises the great ethical facts of freedom, responsibility, sin and guilt—affords the only key to the great problems of philosophy and theology" (Preface, pp. vii-viii). When we read this sentence, we turned with interest to the chapters which contain the exposition of the argument for such ethical Monism. We found an argument of great cogency set forth with great ingenuity and with much lucidity. The President is acquainted with the various systems of Monism which have claimed the attention of the world, and he is not satisfied with them. All forms of subjective idealism, and all forms of pantheism are rejected by him, and he strives to set forth a Monism which leaves room for personality, human and divine, and which will not conflict with the great facts of experience, represented by the words freedom, responsibility, sin and guilt. The opening chapter sets forth the positions that God creates only through Christ, and that the design of creation is to reveal God. He finds in Christ the principles of physical interaction, of mental interaction, of logical induction, of evolution and of moral unity. The universe is a continual manifestation of Christ. In short, this chapter is an application of the Logos doctrine of

the Fourth Gospel, and of the Pauline statement that "in Christ all things consist".

The second chapter is a criticism of those forms of Monism which leave no room for transcendence or freedom. ism and subjective idealism are shown to be untrue, and the chapter concludes with the affirmation that if Monism is true, it must be ethical. This thesis is further unfolded in the third chapter, and in it there are many interesting discussions regarding one substance and many personalities, regarding natural causation as one method of the working of an immanent God, and second causes in nature as secondary workings of God. The speculation is bold, but is not without warrant and justification. Only we desiderate a more detailed, and a more consecutive course of argument. transitions are somewhat abrupt and the sequence of thought is by no means clear. We have to gather the thought from the writing. The author seems to forget this; the written page is to him sufficient, for it is a sign of what he has slowly and painfully thought out; but the reader has, perhaps, not passed that way, and the missing links have to be supplied before he can rightly judge as to the worth of the whole argument.

The chapter on God's self-limitation is of great importance, and is worthy of study. It is of importance because usually in all kinds of treatises, whether scientific or metaphysical, men begin with the indeterminate, and as their system demands, they introduce determination after determination, until they reach what appears to them to be a determinate universe. There is no means of transition from the indeterminate to the determinate. When this is recognised, we see that most of the ambitious schemes in vogue at present are destroyed. Perfection means determination, and a perfect personality is self-determined, and therefore self-limited. Self-limitation, as the author points out, is not a sign of weakness but of power.

The further chapters of the main treatise are on "Christ and the Truth," "The Authority of Scripture," "Modern Tendencies in Theological Thought," and on "The Fall

and the Redemption of Man in the Light of Evolution". Many good and worthy things are set forth in these chapters. But the exposition is not continuous. The reader has to supply many links, and he is sometimes not sure whether he has got the right clue to the meaning of the author. There are great thoughts in the book, and helpful suggestions not a few. In fact the book ought to be rewritten, a good many things might with profit be omitted, and a good many missing links ought to be supplied. There is the possibility of a great work in these somewhat inchoate pages.

THE aim of Professor Muirhead in these chapters is "to bring some of the leading conceptions of the Ethics into connection with modern ideas for the sake of the general reader". These chapters are not addressed specially to students, though the author hopes "that they may not be found wholly useless to university students as an introduction both to the Ethics and to Moral Philosophy in general". This hope, so quietly and modestly expressed, will be amply justified. In fact this work is likely to be of supreme value to the student as well as to the general reader. It is unique in plan and in execution. The advance which has been made in this country in philosophy, and specially in psychology, has been fully recognised by Professor Muirhead, and he has brought the great ideas of Aristotle into relation with the most recent conceptions of psychology and moral philosophy. He has done this quietly and easily, without apparent strain or effort, for he is at home among the most recent achievements of psychological science. It is an advantage even to those who have studied Aristotle's works, and to those who have studied modern psychology, to have these brought together and their relations set forth in the luminous fashion of this treatise.

In the Introduction Professor Muirhead tries to place the leading features of the Aristotelian philosophy in the light of the circumstances of the time that produced them. What lies at the basis of the Aristotelian Ethics is the life of the

citizens of the city-state. So, that life is briefly but sufficiently sketched by Professor Muirhead. It was a life under conditions comparatively simple; it was a life in public, and it was a life of leisure. "The Greek citizen did not live for arms or for politics any more than for bread alone. was a creature of large discourse, and had an outlook on a larger world than that of his soldiership, his private business, or even his public duties. The world was represented by the buildings and statues that were daily before his eyes; by the great religious festivals that divided the year, culminating in dramatic representations, when questions of fate, free-will and the government of the world were marked out before his eyes; by the gymnasia or social clubs where friends met for free discussion of current topics; and last, but not least, by the schools of the philosophers, which, as politics declined, became more and more the meeting-ground of the abler and more ardent spirits" (p. 7). Looking at the life of the citizen of Athens, Aristotle was able to find in that life facts and principles of universal and permanent human interest. His distinctions and definitions became luminous in the light of the common life of the city-state. "Man is a political being and made for society," and when Aristotle speaks of the good and happy life as the efficient discharge of functions, he means by functions the actions that are distinctive of the man and the citizen, just as in the Aristotelian doctrine of "the mean" we must understand "the mean" in relation to the permanent ends of the citizen. Thus Professor Muirhead enables the reader to place the doctrines of Aristotle in their proper setting in relation to the life of his time.

Then in a series of luminous chapters he discourses on the Science of Ethics, on opinion as to the nature of happiness, on the elements of happiness, on the soul and its parts, on the general nature of virtue, on the specific nature of virtue, on courage, on temperance, on imperfect self-control, on prudence, on wisdom, on philosophy, on friendship, and on pleasure. These chapters taken together from a complete account of the moral philosophy of Aristotle. In method they are expository, critical and historical; they give us a complete exposition of the views of Aristotle. critical in so far as they set the dicta of Aristotle in the light of our modern knowledge; and historical, as they contain a sketch of the condition of the Aristotelian ideas, and of their subsequent development. Let us have a specimen of the mode of treatment. Speaking of temperance, and of the deepening in modern conceptions of the scope of temperance, Professor Muirhead says: "In the maxim: See that you treat free citizenship in your own person, and in the person of others, always as an end, and never as a means only, we have accepted, on principle at any rate, the maxim of Kant: See that you so treat humanity. With this enlarged ideal of the end which is to be served goes an enlarged conception of the sacrifices which may be entailed by the service. From the Greek, all that seemed to be required was such self-denial as was implied in abstaining from all excesses that would unfit a man for the performance of his civil or military duties. Under modern conditions, individuals and classes may find themselves, in addition to this minimum, called upon-for the sake of objects which to the Greek would have seemed wholly impalpable or illusory—to accept a life in which the pleasures of the senses or even of the mind have little or no place. it be said that, admitting all this, the Greek ideal of a society, in which the higher pleasures will constitute an element in life which no one will be called on to renounce, is nevertheless the higher of the two, the answer is twofold. In the first place, this ideal is not likely to be realised unless there are, meantime, some who value more the opening of them to others than the permanent enjoyment of them. In the second place, so far as the individual is concerned, there is no evidence that with the advance of civilisation there will be less need for temperance and self-denial. On the contrary, it may very well be that just as the advance of civilisation brings, as we have seen, new pains and fears, and with them new occasions for courage, so it brings with it new pleasures which the man who desires to live for larger aims has to do without" (pp. 124-125). It is also pointed out that there follows on this enlarged conception of the end a more vivid sense of its spirituality.

What has been said on temperance is said, mutatis mutandis, on the other topics discussed by Professor Muirhead. In many respects the work of the Professor deserves the highest praise. It is carefully and competently done, and the translation of certain parts of the Ethics at the end of the volume gives to the reader the words of the master himself, so far as these can be represented by an English translation.

Many things might be said, and many questions discussed, were there space and time. Only one remark we shall make. Aristotle has his limitations, and so has Professor Muirhead. The question arises in relation to Aristotle's views: Can a full, complete, true and adequate human life be lived within the bounds of the city-state? Many noble elements of life, of abiding worth are set forth in the pages of Aristotle, and elements of larger worth are set forth in the criticism and exposition of them by Professor Muirhead. But can human life be worthily lived, and human work be worthily done under the influence of motives, and the inspiration of aims which have their sphere only on this side, and within the bounds of time? Can a man live a worthy life, or be a good and efficient member of society, unless he can look at himself and at society as beings who abide through eternity. The fulness and completeness of life, the adequate doing of work, and the discharge of duty, can be fully done, only when life and immortality have been brought to light, and become part of the consciousness of men. To make the work of Professor Muirhead complete, we must add to his conceptions, worthy of all praise as they are, the higher, grander conceptions of Christian Ethics, and so make Ethics an exposition of human character and conduct in the light of eternity.

JAMES IVERACH.

# The Syriac Chronicle known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene.

Translated into English by F. J. Hamilton, D.D., and E. W. Brooks, M.A. London: Methuen & Co., 1899. 8vo, pp. 344. Price 12s. 6d. net.

Zaχaρίas ὁ ἡήτωρ appears several times as an authority in the Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius. He seems to have written in Greek at Constantinople between A.D. 491 and 518 an ecclesiastical history of the years 450-491. He afterwards became Bishop of Mitylene. The Syriac Chronicle which Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Brooks have given us in a becoming English dress is divided into twelve books, and covers a longer period (from circ. 447-556) than Zachariah, but his name has been attached to it, because books iii.-vi. are an abbreviated translation of Zachariah's Greek.

The interest of the chronicle is very great, whatever be the exact circumstances of its redaction. The naive preface at once wins our sympathy (p. 16): "We beg that the readers will not blame us, if we do not call the kings victorious and mighty . . . and the bishops pious and blessed . . . because it is our object to relate facts, following in the footsteps of Holy Scripture."

Sometimes, however, there is a bad suppressio veri, as when the evil deeds of the Latrocinium of A.D. 449 are compressed into the sentence "Flavian and Eusebius were deposed". "Flavian was put on the floor, beaten and kicked," would be a truer account. Similarly, the account of the Fourth General Council (Chalcedon) is given from a Monophysite standpoint, thus:—

"This apostolic man (Dioscorus of Alexandria) was deposed and sent into banishment because he would not worship the image, with its two faces, which was set up by Leo [of Rome] and by the Council of Chalcedon; and because he refused to hold communion with Theodoret and Hibo (Ibas), who had been deprived on account of their blasphemies." Books iii.-vi. are indeed an account of the development of the Christological controversy to the death of the Emperor Zeno from the Monophysite standpoint.

Book vii. is of more general interest. A full description (pp. 153 ff.) is given of the capture of Amida (Amid) by the Persian King Kawad, Christ Himself having promised in vision to give up the city because it had sinned against Him. Joshua the Stylite (chap. liii.) in his account of the same event is less favourable to the Persians; they "trampled the Eucharist under foot and mocked at its service". The banishment of the aged Macedonius of Constantinople by the Monophysite emperor Anastasius is touchingly told even by the Monophysite chronicler (pp. 175-6).

At the end of book viii. we have recorded as a literary curiosity the pericope adulterae which the chronicler found in the [Greek] Tetreuvangelion of Moro (Marā), Bishop of Amida. The details of the story vary considerably from the text of W.H.

- (1) The Scribes and Pharisees are not mentioned.
- (2) The woman was "found with child" (bātĕnā).
- (3) Our Lord asks, What did he (Moses) command in the Law?
- (4) The answer, At the mouth of two or three witnesses she shall be stoned.
- (5) Our Lord looks on the ground and writes in the dust only in speaking to the woman.
- (6) Our Lord's final words are, Those who brought thee hither and wished to testify against thee, when they considered the things which I said to them which thou didst hear, left thee and departed. Go thou, therefore, and do not this sin again.

Among the gems-for there are gems even in this history

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An allusion to the Catholic doctrine of the permanence of the two natures, Divine and human, in our Lord after their union in one person.

of wars and controversies—must be reckoned the account of the reception of the missionaries to the Huns (p. 330):—

"In a country in which no peace is to be found these seven priests from evening to evening found a lodging and seven loaves of bread and a jar of water".

The translators have done a great service both to Byzantine history and to Syriac scholarship. The text is corrupt, and Land's edition frequently fails to give the reading of the MS. (B.M. Add. 17,202), from which it was taken. Dr. Hamilton and Mr. Brooks supply many emendations, partly from a fresh examination of the MS., partly by the help of a second MS. preserved at the Vatican. Much still remains to be done for this interesting chronicle, but the present editors have taken us a long way beyond Land, and earned our heartiest thanks.

W. EMERY BARNES.

# Our Records of the Nativity and Modern Historical Research. A Reply to Professor Ramsay's Thesis.

By James Thomas. Swan Sonnenschein, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 400. Price 6s.

THIS book, as its sub-title shows, is in large measure intended as an answer to Professor Ramsay's recent monograph on the credibility of St. Luke's account of the circumstances attending Christ's birth at Bethlehem.1 But as along with this the writer takes the opportunity of reviewing the corresponding narrative in the First Gospel, we have in the volume before us an examination of the only two records of the Nativity that we possess, regarded first of all in themselves, and then in their relation to one another. The importance of such an examination will be at once conceded; for though Mr. Thomas states that he has no intention of intruding on the actual story of the birth and parentage of Jesus, but only of seeing "how far the writers of these two accounts are correct in the historical incidents which they relate after the lapse of years" (p. 3), it is obvious that if the result of his inquiry is fatal to the historical credibility of the narratives, the belief in the doctrine of the Miraculous Conception itself, which we derive from them, will be seriously imperilled, if not destroyed. inquiry has thus a wider range than may at first sight be apparent, and the successive steps in the writer's argument demand careful attention. It is obviously impossible, however, to submit all Mr. Thomas's statements to detailed examination here. The utmost that can be attempted is to indicate generally the course he follows, and to point out some of the particulars in which he seems to us to have failed to prove his case.

After an introductory chapter, in which he discusses the general plan of his work, Mr. Thomas gives a short account

<sup>1</sup> Was Christ born at Bethlehem? Hodder and Stoughton, 1898,

of the historical surroundings of the Nativity, and more particularly a review of the life of Herod the Great. This latter can only be described as a somewhat bold, and by no means successful, attempt to "whitewash" Herod's character, with the object, as appears afterwards, of throwing discredit on the story of the Massacre of the Innocents. For, even though it may be the case that injustice has been done to Herod in certain particulars, we have only too abundant evidence to justify the verdict which Josephus passes upon him as "fierce to all alike, and the slave of passion, and above the consideration of what was right" (Ant. xvii. 8. 1). While so far as regards the possibility of this alleged "useless crime," Mr. Thomas's own admission is almost sufficient to cover the case, that "there was often, in those days, but the alternative of 'kill or be killed,' and he [Herod] chose the former" (p. 66, f.). According to the evangelic tradition it was this very fear that his kingdom and therefore his life were in danger that was now, as at other times, the underlying motive of the frenzied king's conduct. (For an illustrative parallel comp. Josephus, Ant. xv. 8. 4.)

This is by no means, however, the only difficulty that Mr. Thomas raises in connection with the Visit of the Magi. Upon every detail in the account of it—the character of the mysterious sages themselves, the appearance of the star, the events at Jerusalem, and again at Bethlehem—doubt in turn is cast. Nor is it difficult to do this for any one who, like Mr. Thomas, seems prepared to exclude the supernatural altogether, and who has so little entered into the inner spirit of the narrative that he can speak of the Magi as influenced by "an absolutely trivial motive" (p. 73). One advantage, however, all such criticism as Mr. Thomas passes, has. It serves to bring out what are the unnecessary, as distinguished from the real, difficulties of the Gospel story, and so leads to the removal of what have sometimes proved stumbling-blocks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Elsewhere, when it serves his purpose, Mr. Thomas more truly describes the Magi, as "actuated by the deepest feelings of spiritual reverence, and indeed adoration, no other motives for their visit being conceivable" (p. 311. f.).

in the way of faith. Thus, as has been pointed out again and again, we do not need to think of any miraculous appearance of a star. Once we have admitted that the Magi were believers in astrology, and that God can use the imperfect, and even the erroneous, beliefs of men as the means of conducting them to Himself, it is clear that any unusual astronomical conjunction (and that  $\partial \sigma \tau \eta \rho$  can be used in this wide sense the lexicographers have shown, see Schleusner s. v.) meets the requirements of the narrative. Nor is it without significance in this connection, though we do not desire to lay too much stress upon it (pace Mr. Thomas, p. 72), that Kepler's discovery of a remarkable conjunction of planets coincides in a striking way with what is now, on entirely independent grounds, believed to be the probable date of Christ's birth, viz., between B. C. 7 and 5. (See Turner, Art. Chronology of New Testament in Hastings' D. of B. vol. i.) 1

The subsequent references to the star are more doubtful, and many who accept the general historical truth of the narrative, find in them mythical additions. It may be so, or it may be that we have merely a loose popular or poetical way of saying that the star appeared to the Wise Men in the direction of Bethlehem, as according to the above-mentioned astronomical calculations would indeed be the case, standing, not necessarily over the special house, but generally over the place where the young Child was. Further guidance than that they would not require, for once arrived in Bethlehem, a village of perhaps 2,000 inhabitants, they would have little difficulty in finding Him of whom they were in search. The small size of Bethlehem too, it may be noted in passing, should put a stop to the exaggerated ideas of Herod's massacre that popularly prevail. There cannot as a matter of fact have been more than about twenty infants put to death

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas is right in refusing to rest the proof of any widespread Messianic expectations in heathendom at this time upon such generally cited passages as Tacit. *Hist.* v. 13 and Suet. *Vespas.* 4, for these allusions refer to the time of Vespasian, and are evidently derived from Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 5, 4). What more natural however than that the universal diffusion of the Jews should have been accompanied by the universal diffusion of their Messianic hopes?

(see Farrar, Edersheim). And surely to bring forward the silence of Josephus as an argument against the story, because it is "simply incredible" that, had he heard of it, he could have forgotten it, or because he had "no possible reason" for omitting it (p. 91), is a purely arbitrary assumption.

From the account in St. Matthew, Mr. Thomas passes to the account in St. Luke, and here, as might be expected, he at once fixes on the blunder or rather complication of blunders into which, it is freely declared, St. Luke has fallen with regard to the Census of Quirinius, and which, if proved, is admittedly of so serious a character as to throw discredit upon the historical character of his whole narrative. arguments by which this charge of untrustworthiness is generally supported are briefly as follows: that Augustus never ordered any general enrolment to be made of the Roman world—that, even if he had done so, it would not have extended to Palestine which was an independent kingdom—that, again supposing this were possible, it would not have necessitated the journey of Mary and Joseph to Bethlehem, seeing that according to the Roman method they would have been enrolled at their own residence in Nazareth—and lastly that, under any circumstances, it could not have taken place at once during the lifetime of Herod and the Governorship of Quirinius, seeing that Herod died in B. C. 4 and Quirinius was not Governor of Syria until A. D. 6-7. Against this undoubtedly grave indictment Professor Ramsay has built up a long and patient argument, which has generally been accepted as probably the best explanation yet offered of this very difficult passage. After establishing the probability of Augustus' having at least laid down the principle of a general enrolment of his empire, and the further likelihood that this enrolment, which we know to have actually taken place in Egypt, was also carried out in Syria, he goes on to show that B. C. 7 or 6 is the most probable year for this to have happened, and though he is here met by the undoubted fact that at this time Quinctilius Varus, and not Quirinius, was governing Syria, he finds an outlet out of the difficulty "in the supposition that the foreign relations of Syria, with the command of its armies,

were entrusted for a time to Quirinius," and that the period of this extraordinary command coincided with the abovementioned date. This last supposition regarding Quirinius is perhaps the least convincing part of Professor Ramsay's argument, and it seems to us that Mr. Thomas is entitled to hold that "the specific phrase 'of Syria' which follows in the text indisputably puts quite a different meaning" on Quirinius's governorship (p. 192).1 But though Professor Ramsay's argument may require to be amended in this and possibly in other directions,2 we confess that, after having carefully read Mr. Thomas's criticisms, we cannot find that he has materially shaken it in any important particular. It is an argument which, as Professor Ramsay himself is careful to explain, and Mr. Thomas seems constantly to forget, rests upon propositions which, in the absence of sufficient data, must be regarded as "probable" rather than conclusive (Ramsay, p. 110). And if so, it is equally obvious that, with regard to the whole of such an inquiry, very much depends upon the state of mind in which it is approached. Professor Ramsay does so avowedly with a strong prepossession in favour of St. Luke's accuracy, based upon the fact that his historical statements, where it has been found possible to test them, as e.g., in the Book of Acts, have been amply justified. Mr. Thomas, on the other hand—we hope we do not do him wrong—at least gives us the impression that he has a keener eye for the difficulties than for any possible explanations of the Lucan account, and that, if he has any prejudice at all, it is against rather than in favour of the Evangelist. We are very far indeed from imputing to him anything in the nature of such "a policy of malignity," as he expressly repudiates. But he seems to us to demand

<sup>1</sup> The words in the original are ἡγεμουεύουτος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. Mr. Thomas, by the way, would do well to note more carefully the printing of his Greek accents and breathings (see e.g., pp. 94, 246, 357).

<sup>2</sup> The above objection does not hold against the old idea that Quirinius was specially appointed by Augustus to the *Procuratorial* or *Fiscal*, as distinguished from the *Legatine*, Governorship of Syria, a meaning which the word ἡγεμονεύειν can perfectly well have (see McLellan, *The New Testament*, i. 397 f.; and Professor M. Dods in the *Critical Review* ix. 77).

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more in the way of absolute proof than in this, or indeed almost any fact of ancient history, is possible; and, further, in weighing this statement of St. Luke's, he neglects to throw into the scale in its favour the confidence in his general accuracy which St. Luke has elsewhere earned.

Mr. Thomas, however, is not content with questioning the historical accuracy of the Matthaean and Lucan accounts taken separately. He regards them as irreconcilable with each other. It is quite true that the two narratives are written from two independent points of view, and deal with wholly different sets of facts, but that is not to say that no basis of agreement can be found between them. The main difficulty, apart from the Genealogies, which it is wisest simply to leave "side by side as independent attempts to supply the desiderated proof of Davidic descent" (Sanday, Art. Jesus Christ in Hastings' D. of B. ii. 645), is as to where the original home of Mary and Joseph was situated. There can be no doubt that if we had only the narrative of the First Gospel we would look for this naturally at Bethlehem, and imagine that Mary and Joseph went to Nazareth for the first time after the return from Egypt (Matt. ii. 23). Whereas St. Luke plainly calls Nazareth "their own city," and without any reference to the Flight into Egypt seems to indicate that Mary and Joseph returned to Nazareth directly from Jerusalem after the Presentation in the Temple (Luke ii. 39). Are our two authorities thus "in flagrant disagreement," as Mr. Thomas would have us to believe? (p. 307). Or is it not possible again to postulate two entirely independent sources of information from which the Evangelists drew, and to think that the original compilers of these sources may either have been ignorant of, or purposely passed over in silence, the events that they do not record? If this is once admitted, not only can we harmonize the two narratives, but by combining them can trace a natural and continuous sequence of events.1

There still remains the important question, Even supposing that we are to reject on such grounds as have been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Canon Gore arranges the sequence as follows: St. Luke i.; St. Matt. i. 18-25<sup>a</sup>; St. Luke ii. 1-21 [St. Matt. i. 25<sup>b</sup>]; St. Luke ii. 22-38; St. Matt. ii. [St. Luke ii. 39]; St. Luke ii. 40-52 (*Dissertations*, p. 37).

advanced the right of these records of the Nativity to a place in the original Gospels, how did they arise? That they must have been early in general circulation is clearly proved by the fact that the doctrine of the Miraculous Conception, for which they are our only authorities, was an established belief in all parts of the Church by the middle of the second century, and was apparently known at the headquarters of Christianity nearly a century earlier (see Sanday ut s. p. 643 f.). what then, if they do not rest on an historical basis, are these narratives due? On this point, Mr. Thomas has not much to tell us, though he evidently clings to some such legendary or mythical basis, as was advocated by David Strauss, and indeed himself supplies an additional reference to a popular legend that had grown up round the birth of Augustus, as one which, if it did not actually help to suggest the Christian story, at least shows how it may have arisen (p. 388). But setting aside all such difficulties as want of time etc., for such a growth, even those, who, like Mr. Thomas, deny the historical character of the Gospel narratives, are now ready to admit that it is impossible to rest the Christian tradition on this subject in the last instance upon factors which are so wholly foreign to the general course of Biblical revelation. starting point for this "myth," if "myth" it is, must rather, so they tell us, be looked for within that revelation, and not a few believe that they find it in such a verse as Isaiah vii. 14.1 It is an explanation open, we believe, to at least equally strong objections as those that can be urged against any pagan source for our doctrine, but as it forms no part of Mr. Thomas's argument we cannot stay now to criticise it. And we can only conclude by expressing our own belief that until more convincing arguments are brought forward against them, and a more conclusive explanation of their supposed mythical origin is forthcoming, than any we have found here, we must continue to regard, if only on historical grounds, the narratives of the Nativity as historical also.

G. MILLIGAN.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See e.g., Lobstein, Die Lehre von der übernatürlichen Geburt Christi (2<sup>te</sup> Aufl. Freiburg-i.-B., 1896)—a most thorough and clearly reasoned statement of the whole question from the negative point of view.

### Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.

By Francis Seymour Stevenson, M.P. London: Macmillan & Co. Pp. xvi + 348 Price 10s. net.

MR. STEVENSON describes his book "as a contribution to the religious, political and intellectual history of the thirteenth century". It is in the ecclesiastical and political portion of his subject that Mr. Stevenson has done his best work. He has not attempted to estimate the position of Grosseteste in the history of mediæval philosophy beyond giving us a very brief statement of his relation to earlier and to later This, however, is no real defect in the present thinkers. work, for the subject is highly technical and would find its proper place in a discussion of philosophy and theology in mediæval England. The present volume might, however, have contained at least a selected bibliography, and some statement of Dr. Felten's theory about the authorship of the Chasteau d'Amour, by which Grosseteste was popularly known in the fourteenth century. Mr. Stevenson's interest lies rather in the politico-ecclesiastical sphere, and his book is, as a Life of the great Bishop of Lincoln, a thoroughly sound and careful piece of research. It was with his appointment to the See of Lincoln in 1235 that Grosseteste's striking personality found proper scope. He at once set himself to reform ecclesiastical abuses within the limits of his own diocese, and the story throws much light upon the condition of the Church of his day, and of the position occupied by a thirteenth-century bishop. Grosseteste set himself to improve the morals of the clergy, to raise the standard of education and intelligence among them, and to regulate Church observances and festivals. His forty-five "Constitutions" present a picture of the ecclesiastical abuses of the time. But the bishop's energy did not end with these evils and their remedies. We find him leading a crusade against drunkenness, defining the limits of legitimate amusement, and performing some of the duties which would now belong to the Board of Health. His name remains famous in the history of the never-ending controversy between Church and State and in connection with the constitutional struggles of the reign of Henry III. Strong as was Grosseteste's view of the independence of the Church, he did not hesitate to oppose unjust Papal exactions, just as he had opposed unjust royal exactions, and he was the leader of the Church in its struggle against the unwonted alliance of King and Pope. This is the story that Mr. Stevenson has to tell, and he has told it well.

ROBERT S. RAIT.

Die Religionsphilosophie Kant's von der Kritik der reinen Vernunft bis zur Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft.

(Kant's Philosophy of Religion from his "Critique of Pure Reason" to his "Religion within the Limits of Mere Reason".) Von Dr. Albert Schweitzer in Strassburg i. E.: Freiburg i. B.: Mohr, 1899. 8vo, pp. 325, 7mk.

THE primary purpose of Dr. Schweitzer's work is to sketch the development of Kant's own philosophy of religion: not to determine its precise place in the history of the philosophy of religion or to estimate its intrinsic merits. The author is of opinion that alongside of the numerous dissertations and larger treatises about Kant's philosophy of religion there is room for one which shall let Kant himself speak, which shall present a critical analysis of his own thoughts on the subject at the various stages of their development and in their several The usual conception of his view, he allows, will thus at certain points be put out of perspective, and sustain a loss of unity and self-contained completeness; but he justifies himself by a consideration to which non-Kantians will scarcely attach much weight, namely, that as Kant's own philosophy of religion passed through a great development, and that as its development was necessarily determined by law, the law in question may have foreshadowed the law of the development of the same subject during this nineteenth century: Kant's development in other words, may have been a prophetic preformation of the development in the nineteenth century. To show this seems to be the real or ultimate aim of the work.

For the purpose in view four of Kant's works are examined in part or in whole, namely, first, the section of the Critique of Pure Reason, headed, "Der Kanon der reinen Vernunft";

secondly, the Critique of the Practical Reason; thirdly, the Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason, and lastly, the Critique of the Faculty of Judgment. According to Dr. Schweitzer the "Sketch of the Philosophy of Religion" given in the "Kanon" constituted the point of departure for the development whose course he has traced out. Its characteristic feature is that it contains within itself, in an undeveloped and unmediated form, two great lines of thought which afterwards differentiate themselves ever more completely and sharply. The first of these lines, which has ethical humanity as such for its subject, reappears in the fourth of the works just mentioned, and reaches its culmination in the third. The second line of thought, which has the "isolated human being" for its subject, attains logical, and therefore one-sided development in the exposition of the philosophy of religion according to Critical Idealism which is contained in the Critique of Practical Reason. An insoluble contradiction, it is maintained, exists between the presuppositions of Kant's Critical Idealism and the fact of the moral law, which renders impossible any philosophy of religion based on a union of these two factors. Logically carried out, indeed, the one factor neutralises the other. The two lines of development which have been traced through the entire Kantian philsophy of religion owe their existence to the relation between these two factors.

To Schopenhauer belongs the credit of following out the Critical Idealistic line to its extreme issue in the denial of freedom, immortality and God. Albrecht Ritschl, on the other hand, most consistently developed the ethical line, in that, whilst laying stress on the moral personality, he maintained that its realisation is only possible in interaction with a moral society.

Dr. Schweitzer's work has undoubtedly an interest of its own—the interest at all events of showing, by the example of so great a man as Kant, how possible it is for the germs of mutually-exclusive systems of thought to lodge together in the same subtle, tenacious and vigorous intellect: and by natural consequence for those opposed systems when

developed to be fathered on one and the same thinker. It is evidently the outcome of much careful and concentrated thought.

One cannot but wish that our German friends would supply their works with adequate Tables of Contents and Indexes. Fancy a closely-printed volume, large octavo, extending to 325 pages, on such a subject, with a Table of Contents of only six of the briefest headings. If authors were a little more accommodating in this matter, they would perhaps be more read, or at all events more bought.

D. W. SIMON.

### Die Schöpfungsgeschichte der Sündenfall und der Turmbau zu Babel.

In drei im akademischen Gottesdienst zu Halle gehaltenen Predigten behandelt von D. Fr. Loofs, Professor der Theologie in Halle. Freiburg: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. pp. 41. Price, 75pf.

#### De Veteris Latinæ Ecclesiastici Capitibus I-XLIII.

Una cum notis ex ejusdem libri translationibus Aethiopica, Armeniaca, Copticis, Latina Altera, Syro-hexaplari depromptis. Scripsit Dr. Theol. Henr. Herkenne, Repetens in Collegio Albertino Bonnensi. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1899. pp. 268.

Professor Loofs of Halle has published three University sermons on the story of the Creation, the Fall, and the Tower of Babel. They form No. 39 of the series of Hefte zur christlichen Welt. These sermons are in every respect admirable, popular in style, reverent in spirit, scientific in They are thoroughly modern, accept all critical results, but show that the religious value of the narratives in question is absolutely unimpaired. They can never, he believes, cease to be profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction and for discipline in righteousness. Of the Creation narrative he says: "Those ancient traditions which the writer of our Creation story overwrought were the knowledge of culture which he acquired. In their place we put the knowledge of our time . . . . But one thing we must never forget. All our modern sciences help us no more in the religious quest than the pious Israelite was helped by the traditions which he found in his world. Just as the ancient Israelite found the truth, properly so called, as to the Creation, not in those ancient traditions, but in what he knew as a believing Israelite, so to all modern science the origin of the world remains a riddle. The real significance of the Creation narrative is exactly the same for us as for Israel. It expresses, in a form intelligible to every child, impressive and majestically simple to every mature understanding, the proposition of faith that this world is a Creation of Almighty God." The profound and enduring truths which are presented in the story of the Fall, truths which are unaffected by science and philosophy, are expressed by Professor Loofs with equal clearness and point. "Heathen religions answer the question as to the origin of sin by deifying sin; they regard the opposition between good and evil, light and darkness, as eternal . . . Wise and clever men in all ages have supposed that the whole array of earthly evils is the necessary consequence of the finitude of the world of men, and that this consequence of finitude was originally willed by God." all this the Bible on its first pages "opposes an emphatic no. God cannot be the Author of sin." And "with all our wisdom we have not got much farther than the author of the story in the text. We have only a surer guarantee for our faith . . . He who knows how to find profound truth in the simple vesture of the antique popular tale, verily finds much of it here." The whole discourse is well worth reading. p. 21 "Nazareth" should be "Nain."

Dr. Herkenne of Bonn has produced one of those works of prodigious learning which appear only in laborious Germany. His laudable purpose has been to purify the text of the best book of the Apocrypha. He has devoted years to it. He has collated the Graecus Receptus of Ecclesiasticus not only with the Old Latin, but with the Syriac, Armenian, Aethiopic and Coptic Versions. In the middle of his undertaking he was agreeably surprised by the news of the discovery of a portion of the original Hebrew text, and with all speed he added the fragment to his list of authorities. He has now published the results of his labours, not in German but in Latin. His book will be an indespensable apparatus to specialists. "Dignus est prae caeteris apocryphis hic liber, cui, quantum fieri potest, primaeva restituatur textus puritas."

# Communication from Professor L. H. Mills on the Gâthas —The Amshaspends and the "uncertainties".

In a former communication kindly printed in this Review <sup>1</sup> I presented the curious details of the case of the Gâthas, and especially with reference to the Ameshaspenta.

Here are certain terms which preserve the expression of moral and religious aspirations which were felt by a deeply interesting branch of our Aryan race in a remote antiquity, and which prove that the people lived in a highly refined though simple civilisation. But these words were for some reason used in different senses.

How then are we to explain these ambiguities? To solve the problem I will first ask the reader to deepen and to widen it.

Under the general main divisions of each idea which I have roughly given it is always possible, as in similar cases elsewhere, to see subdivisions which may have been really intended to be expressed at certain times. And just in so far as these ideas become more narrowly defined in this manner, does the fact that they were actually intended to be expressed become the more uncertain.

By Asha as the law, the ritual must have been often understood, and other subdivisions which would correspond to what we know as the canon law (though of course in a very rudimentary form), and often fixed traditional usages which were like our own liturgic rubrics (though doubtless exalted into an exaggerated importance by the local priesthoods). Sometimes the civil and the criminal statutes, as a matter of course, may have been the uppermost form of the great general idea intended to be conveyed; sometimes again the personal candour or commercial honesty of the punctilious citizen.

And so of Asha as in so far personified as to be "incorporate" within the people. Now it was meant to express the throngs of the faithful regarded as adherents of the holy creed in their religious convictions and emotions; again it indicated the "nation" much as "Israel" did in the other case; and at times, perhaps like Vohumanah, it designated the individual And so of the individualistic personification, as a supernatural person, at times it is so vivid as to make us doubt whether the words could ever have been intended to express any other idea than that of the great Archangel, while at the next step this personification is the rare and refined use of a rhetorical figure, a fact of importance to be noticed as an item in a history of rhetoric. And so of Vohumanah, as the abstract concept, it may possibly have meant the bright or enlightened mind, vah, like vas, meaning "to shine". Again, the "sound mind" or the "great sanity" may have been the shade of the thought which pressed itself to the fore. But it could hardly have been other than a beneficent illumination, if for no other reason than because a cold and indifferent sagacity was not a familiar idea to the minds of these early sages. Everything which was "bright" was ipso facto beneficent; "benevolence" was beyond all doubt the fullest main burden of the meaning in the terms: so much for the abstract Vohumanah. As referring to the human personification, the individual citizen, the words expressed at times, of course, his personal character with an incisive presentation of ideas. On the other hand such an epithet was sometimes looked upon as wholly perfunctory; the good-minded was the "assenting," i.e., the "orthodox, well-disciplined and well-conducted citizen," the man in whom the "good mind," the "spirit of the benevolent constitution" dwelt as a matter of expected certainty, though in the Gâthas at least this regular status of the citizen is hardly even once a thing so external as to permit of allusion to the Vohumanah as "defiled" (cp. Vandīdād XIX.): while as the individualistic personification of Vohumanah the same degree of variation appears as in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Though this must have been quite seldom.

case of Asha. And so of Khshathra; it was not only the concept of abstract ruling force, but this as "embodied" in the holy state, often in the particular government and in the then present administration. Again at times it doubtless alluded to the military power with its rigid authority, and in a still closer individualistic personification the reigning monarch must often have occupied the composer's thought when he used the term. While of the greater individualistic personification, that which embraced the community, what has been said of Asha and Vohumanah may again apply. It was used at times in the sense of "land," "country," i.e., the nation not so much in its legal as in its executive aspect. And so of Aramaiti. Beside the concept of "thought-motion" (maiti-āra) we have the not distant one of "devotion" or "devoted zeal," while the subordinate personification of it may very well have attached itself to the idea of a certain class of the executives, "zeal" being a characteristic so vitally essential to the efficiency of the political organisation. But it is of course quite impossible for us to give even an approximate surmise as to which particular subdivision of the main idea was meant to float upon the surface of the thought expressed in every allusion to it. What has been said should suffice to make our case against the certainty of the Avesta (on this important respect) as strong as it can possibly be made. Indeed, I may freely repeat what I have said elsewhere that given an interval of forgetfulness, Zarathushtra himself could by no means have been sure which exact shade of the ideas he had previously intended to convey in many a given passage. For all the while, let it be remembered, the words themselves remain absolutely unchanged, "sanctitas," "bona mens," "regnum" (or "potestas regalis") "prompta mens," "salus," "immortalitas," follow on quietly one upon the other in their unvaried identity, precisely as if they could not deviate in the smallest unit of measure from the easily comprehended significance which they possess as abstract epithets. Such then is our delineation of the uncertainties. No one will say that I have blinked the questions, or that I have faltered in an attempted interior search to discover for

myself and others the hidden recesses of these possibly involved ideas. Let others follow and elaborate the matter still more fully, and provided that they note what I will endeavour to say in conclusion, I shall not only be content, but I shall in my turn gladly become disciple.

It would be of little real use to ask how much of this hair-splitting of the ideas may be exaggeration. What remains as obviously true is of itself enough to astonish us, let alone the rest; and it would not be a matter of any particularly great moment if our "astonishment" reached a more or less pronounced degree of acuteness. What then is our solution? Here is a lore, held to be precious by all eminent or average persons who have read about it, be they friend or foe to it. It is feared, perhaps, by the ultra-orthodox as invading the isolation of our own sacred canonical scriptures, and welcomed by the liberal as showing a wider growth of sensibility in the human soul at a very remote period, and in an apparently very unpromising locality.

Not only are vast theological interests thought to hang upon these issues, but a deep literary interest is involved as well. And everything is held to be in abeyance, if not jeopardised by these "uncertainties". Persons who wish no good to these studies continually revert to them. If we are to save them to the present decade we must do our very best.

And first, it would be a waste of words to ask whether explanatory commentaries which might elucidate the difficulties have or have not perished. Of course the original talk among the groups of the priesthood was not recorded; and the surviving commentaries are but their broken echoes. We may add that this obscurity may very probably have been intentional to some extent.

With no suspicion that his rough verses would be either "immortal" or "renowned," the composer may well have wished to make known his "dark speech" within his chant, if not from a pardonable vanity, then from a still more pardon-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mr. Gladstone wrote in October, 1891, "I am aware of the extraordinary interest of Zoroastrianism and grateful to those who . . . give us such aid in understanding it".

able policy. But whichever we may choose as an explanation, the facts remain. The Gâthas are the lingering shreds of ardent outpourings which came from a passionately devoted group; and how can we reconcile their diversities in the varied points of their ideas? I answer, by looking closely at what is usually said, and then at the analyses which I have made above and in other communications.

These analyses simply show us that there are points beyond which these uncertainties (wide-spreading and intricate as they may be) cannot extend.

The interior sense present in each passing sentence which seems to vary so much from the sense the same word has as it occurs before and from that which follows is united with those very same divergent ideas which seem at first sight so irreconcilable; and this is in consequence of an internal element of identity which underlies them all. Each realistic concept is but the concentration of the underlying abstract. When for instance we read of the typical citizen (at Y. 31, 22), that he "serves Asha with holy power and in word and deed," we may really be in doubt whether his immediate meaning was to follow a person, obey a law, or serve a community. But whichever of these three possible ideas may have been the one immediately intended by the composer to be conveyed in the words, was not the real object of the service actually the same?

To serve Asha as the archangelic personality could only have meaning when understood as "serving him because he was the guardian of discipline and truth"; and surely this in its essential significance is the same thing as to "keep the law," while to "cherish Asha as the community" as the "church" (so to speak) could not have any other sense than to help those who were bound together by the revered religious system in a sacred constitution as the only means of averting destruction. And so we read elsewhere that he holds ruin from the people by Asha (Y, 44, 2).

So, when the composer prays "for the upholding Asha, grant us true riches, blest rewards, the good mind's life," we may indeed hesitate to say whether it was the law or the

people who were to be supported; but we cannot fail to be sure that the people could only be held in view in consequence of their being inter-penetrated with devotion to the statutes and dependent upon their guidance; nor could the "law" have been held in view without the earnest masses who alone could represent its objective reality. For what real existence could holiness have without somebody who was holy?

This necessity is what indeed brought out not only the recognition of a compact church, but of the great individual Being who was believed actually to exist as its guardian. Asha not only could not possess any significance except as the great personification of the law, but in his turn he supplied a need inherent in our very nature, an external realisation of an adored principle.

The Church could profess its ideal loudly, could toil for it, and bleed for it; but she could not realise it (she could see herself to be far short of it).

Without some Being who was really true she would lose all faith in truth. Where was such a being to be found? God would have sufficed, but He was too far off.

The great (unconquerable) Fidelity might have been obscured or lost, if only as confused with other qualities, for even some (Macchiavellian) Christians have repudiated it, as we know, and some Protestants also, ad majorem dei gloriam.

If, then, they could believe in one imperious Being who would not lie, his very essence consisting in an exactness which could never deviate, their flagging discipline might rally. We likewise feel this need. Where can an honest heart be found? But one was given, and they trusted to a mighty Person, who, though a spirit, could not only help their faithfulness but scathe their falsehood. A Church indeed there was which strove after it, as I have said, but there could be no enthusiasm for it without a belief in some real being who made it actual. And such an One had been once thought out for them, and He became a source of the very strength which He symbolised, but only so because the idea of the "holy" in the abstract underlay the entire range

of the ideas, the Law, the People, and the Archangel, and controlled them all in each of their various aspects and subdivisions of conception. Their deep desire for a righteous State was like the thorough bass in music, its fundamental notes swept through each of the other concepts like the under-tones in harmony.

Whenever "Asha" was uttered with the slightest recognition of its interior sense, it awoke a vibration in every kindred soul. The sacrificer could not shut out the thoughts in which his religious passions centred. The idea of the "law" awoke the fierce fanaticism of the covenanter; and that of the nation-church, on the other hand, stirred up the devout fervour of the Catholic. The law was the Word of God to him, as Asha was His Son and the State a Zion. Each had its root in an idea which blended the deepest emotions of his consciousness.

What then does it so much matter if we are indeed uncertain as to whether Zarathushtra meant in any given passages of the Gâthas to use Asha as the people, the law, or the archangel? It was indeed to him but one thought in many diverse shapes, if indeed they were so very diverse as they seem.

And so of Vohumanah, many are the places where we cannot say for a certainty which of the four ideas with their necessary subdivisions was the one intended to be conveyed by the terms which were used; whether the "good mind of the Deity," or even beyond a Deity, the "good mind" in the abstract; whether an archangel personifying the sanity of kindliness, or, again, the individual man in whom the "good mind" dwelt. To some of us it is indeed at times extremely necessary to define and to decide these points, and I fully accede to this, and I endeavour to lay it before my readers in perhaps the fullest analysis of these distinctions which has yet been attempted. Yet I would personally fall back, and willingly (once more), upon this common vital quality of all. The interior life of each idea was felt throughout the others. Never could there be "a good-minded citizen" as "Vohumanah" without the recognition of a deep benevolence Vol. X .- No. 5.

pervading the better universe. There was no possibility even of the archangel without it. Who can personify what he has never thought? But a religious nation, sorely tried by murder, theft and lying, if it once believes that there was a Good Mind in a God-like essence, the very depth of its consolation would awake the self-same "good mind" in itself.

And lest the feeble flame should flicker they would at once call on that "Goodness," soon making it as personal as the Law.

It was indeed "the Good," for it was that which alone gave hope, the one saving ray in their dark life. It centred all they knew of love in the intervals of toil (and slaughter) the mother-love, the brother-love, and the father-love. Each was revealed as reflected in it. Yet how broken was the mirror (in themselves)! But there was a Being close at hand who actually realised it, so the prophets believed, and it was not hard to teach the sober youth to believe it too.

If we cannot be sure whether the Vohu Manah of which the composer (Zarathushtra) speaks, was the attribute of God, the typical believer, or the great Amesha (spenta), there is one thing that we can, nay, that we must, be sure of (unless we miss entirely the point of all), and this is that one mighty concept sweeps through each of the subordinate ideas which move in sympathy. And so of Khshathra. We cannot indeed be often sure whether the sovereign power meant was that of God, the State, the Administration, or the King, or indeed at times of the country, but there is one thing of which we must be sure, and that is that it meant the divine energy in each.

If Khshathtra meant the "land," it was the land as governed by the supreme rule of the wise and powerful Ahura, and as endowed with both rectitude and love, the "holy" land. And if the administration was the immediate idea, it was because it was originally believed to have been "divine of right".

Indeed this Khshathra-power seems to be behind the others. How could the thoughts of truth and love have sustained themselves unless there existed a profound conviction that the universe contained a controlling might to guard them? What was holiness but a futile sentiment, or love but an empty dream, if it had not been for "Power," preliminary, pervading, permanent? The devout peasant believed in it, and worshipped it; it was the "Force of God". And it was a "regularity," a veritable increase upon Asha which was the impersonation of rhythm. There was something indeed, he fully knew, that exercised authority.

The false should *not* for evermore prevail or go unpunished, nor should the "true" be crushed. Actions should be restrained and even the outbreaks of just, though too unbridled resentments. The bread of the toiler should never be withheld nor his home invaded.

The wronged should gain a hearing, and the oppressor meet his due. The startled throngs as they gathered at this cry to repel the murderous raids should have a leader. War should be foreseen, and the power of God on high should be reproduced in the king on earth. The fierce discipline of the Khshathra-class, which was the soldier's 1 class, though not described to us in its detail was the most realistic of all the ideals, as it seems to me. It was indeed the "kingdom" in the theocratic sense, and as noble as the Jewish, for Khshathra was an attribute of God. And as the thought expanded it took shape, and the form of an archangel appeared again to make the halberdier hold firm in battle, believing that a more than Mars or a Minerva was at his shoulder. The great "Angel of the Kingdom" would not let his leaders fumble, nor his comrades flinch. And so there was a patriotic passion that could stir the soul as nothing else could. The citizen could worship the Angel of Command! He could do more; he could arise, gird on his weapons and obey with Aramaiti. Did not God Himself possess the "ready mind"? If his Maker could lead him in "devotion" surely he might follow-so in every nature there smouldered or there burned a fire which could in an instant carry all before it. It could knit house to house, hamlet to hamlet, signalling as with

<sup>1</sup> So also in the Sanskrit.

beacon flames. It was irresistible within limits, an enthusiasm of loyalty. But as before, the thought took shape, and what had been the idea of one decade became once more the angel of another. The very form of the uttered syllables determined the traits of the Spirit: she hovered over the hills as the Spirit of ardent zeal; she steeled the fibre in the plougher's arm as the skill in the horseman's lance, and set the shaft to the deadly Persian bow. Aramaiti crowned the three other personal Immortals with activity. Justice, love and government needed "devoted zeal".

And this is why the early Zoroastrian was as loyal to the Throne as to the Altar. Of course I am aware that the words were often taken as lightly upon the lip as "Saviour" and "Virgin," but not in the Gâthic scene. There they refer to the moments which "tried men's souls," when "heart-devoted" partisans uttered these names with that living sentiment which is so obvious everywhere within the hymns. I say that deep underlying feeling was present in every allusion to these amesha spenta (as they were only later called), as "holy" as they were "immortal," and that the feeling was of the most practical nature possible, a feeling which (as I have shown) kept the various manifestations in the closest sympathy, for a vital thread ran through them.

And this alone is the reason why such apparent divergencies as to the point of the thoughts expressed in them were ever possible. They were variations of one fundamental idea, and any intending student of the Gâthas would do well indeed to make a note of it. Divergencies exist; and we not only acknowledge them, but elaborate their subdivisions and subdivergencies (if such a term were possible); but we must maintain keenly that the resulting concepts, distant as they may seem to a superficial observer (the one from the other), are yet in reality closely related, and this organically, as the branches to the trunk, as the blood-vessels to the heart, as the nerves to the nerve-centre.

To sum up. If the original concept, say, of Asha as the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An arm known only too well to the Romans.

Holy Order of the Law, the rhythm of truth, pervades with a deeper or lighter tinge of colour the other minor concepts as they are occasionally implied (such as those of the civil statutes and the religious regulations including both ritual and rubric, if such a term as this latter can be excused): if it in its turn was never excluded in the Gâthas from the idea of the Congregation or Community which was composed of the only living beings who shared in it; if the State itself was never named as Asha without such an emphasis as Cromwellian Puritans (in their better days) might give it;<sup>1</sup> and if beside all these the image of the Archangel was half called up at every utterance of the sacred sound, even as here the immediate thought intended by the composer to be conveyed was that of the ritual, the statute law, or the Church,—why then our task is this: to say which concept was the one the more immediately and prominently intended to be conveyed by the composer at the moment of the composition (of the particular verse or strophe upon which we may be engaged). Seldom, if ever, could all the ideas be meant, as if the seven chords were sounded with the octave, for no strophe in the Gâthas could have been meant as such a chorus.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of course, either the idea, the statutes, the people, or the Angel was chiefly meant to be presented in each and every occurrence of the term, but never all of them. But while it is our business to find out which is the one first meant in our particular text in each of them, it never can be our business to find out which was the one exclusively meant; that is to say, with an exclusion which is total, and for the reasons given. When one chord is struck it sets the other chords, with scarcely a possible exception, in harmonious but subordinate vibration, and so of each one of the other six.

So that at times when we are translating and may desire to exclude all possible liability of being misunderstood, we may repeat the chief word and write "Asha in thy Folk" instead of the "Community," Asha in thy Law," instead of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the midst of struggles for reform.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup>The several separate names are, however, sometimes purposely grouped.

the "Law," and "Asha in thine Archangel"; and the other chief names will also bear this usage. "The Good Mind in Thy Saint" is safer than the "good man," simply, for this last may be disputed hotly. "Thy Good thought in thine Angel," not "Vohu Manah" uttered simply as a proper name, when many might fiercely claim that "Good Mind" there meant not "the Angel," but the "Characteristic". And so "Thy Khshathra-power in the land," and not "the land" simply, which some would bitterly contest; "Thy Rule within the Government," and not "This Reign" or "Dynasty". "Thy Khshathra as Companion," and not the mere name as an Amesha. And so of the "applied attention," we might say "Thy Aramaiti Zeal within Thy faithful," and not the "loyal party", "Inspired alertness (Aramaiti) in our offices," and not the "detailed executive". "Alertness which speeds well the plough," and not the "holy Earth"; so even of Harvaratat, not "the physicians and the waters," but thy Health-power in the fluids". And so for Ameretatat, not "the aged" or "the plants as bread of life supporting them," but the "enduring Life within thy sages," thy life-force in the herbs and grains," etc., repeating the main name in every case.

This was the plan which I proposed in dealing with these changes in the thirty-first volume of the Sacred Books of the East, and in a second edition <sup>1</sup> I should not fail to guard the definitions of these celebrated epithets still more closely by the same device.

To the charge of uncertainties uttered by the chorus of non-experts in the same breath in which they accentuate the importance of the Gâthas, our answer then is this, this multiplicity of the ideas is limited and by their very nature.

The man who wrote the Gâthas was himself possessed with an enthusiasm for their thoughts, as we must believe, which approached fanaticism. As the fervid Christian once said "by the Sacrament" and "by the Cross," so he pointed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> I am most kindly offered a renewed subvention from Government towards a second edition of my more extended work on the Five Zarathushtrian Gâthas; and here, too, I may apply this method.

every injunction with "by Asha," by "Khshathra," though in fresher vein and pointed meaning. He practically "swore" by them as we do in a rite, and on the Bible. Every duty was brought home and every hope held out in view of them; the Law, the Love, the Rule, the Motion, the Health, the Deathlessness made up his religious world. Not only did he wish to use them and to propagate them; he could not help but do so, for they were to him as "redemption" is to the evangelist, as the "One God" to the Mohammedan. The course of the hymns runs in these lines with neither check nor deviation; no "uncertainties," are less fitful in the sense of continuity in supply, though none are more fitful within limits in their individual make. Nothing of their kind is so unique, and empirics blame their sameness; the Gâthas would not be themselves without these divisions and subdivisions of the same ideas. These six still guide the torrent. To define everything in one line of thought is difficult, but except inside certain outside limits we cannot think of rendering. Fancy, for instance, our translating Asha in an evil sense as "really". It would be simply nonsense. We cannot help but choose one of the two, three or four only apparently diverging thoughts, each closely but internally related to the others. So that these subordinate uncertainties do not affect the moral grandeur of the whole, a quality which has been said to be approached by no other human compositions of their date, not even by the Hebrew Scriptures then extant.

But we have other considerations which may well console us for the alleged and real obscurities in these ancient pieces which are declared by the leaders in comparative philology and comparative morals to possess so great importance. We have a clear gain at least in one curious artistic point as none will doubt as he progresses in investigation. We have laid bare a veritable idiosyncracy, a curiosity par éminence in literature, and one which I will venture to assert possesses in itself a charm.

The mysterious fascinates as has been often said, and some at least will not fail to perceive the attraction of this singular dimness which we at times deplore. Surely he must have been a man of no mean type who could compose strophe after strophe, in words which express a closely related meaning, thoughts divided between such ideas as the rhythm of nature, the moral law and the attributes of God, with such other characteristics as I have endeavoured to describe. Such an "enigma" possesses in itself sublimity and proves a gifted author. How else could this man's mind move so quickly from one such subtle concept to another, and this all in the (supposed) barbaric depths of Iran at such time as the mass of experts now living have combined to place him. The obvious facts are as imposing as they are strange; for these transitions are no sudden freaks of a mind unhinged and nonconsecutive.

Certain moral advantages also accrue to us as we study them. We may bewail the sparseness of the diction in the Gâthas, and be right; they leave scant space indeed to paint the passage of events. But this prevents at least an overgrowth of weeds.<sup>1</sup> The thoughts which were the deepest extant are no longer marred by jarring notes.

For the first time perhaps in human history we see a soul feeling its way into the inner temple of spiritual insight, making distinctions for itself which had never been attempted or surmised. I, for one, thank God that we are for once left sequestered and apart with these great beliefs. It is fortunate that we are baffled (for a change for once) in tracing out the mean detail of human actions. They (thank God) can be for once forgotten or ignored, and leave our sight and fancy free to view without distraction those impressive spiritual features which stand out everywhere. There is literature enough which shows us life in all its degrading colour. Let us not be impatient if we are summoned for a moment to fix our eyes on what must after all be regarded as the central value in all literature, the outcoming of the moral thought.

It is surely an advantage to us for once to see not an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In the form of extraneous details.

individual but also a people in the very dawn of civic life struggling to build up and defend a polity founded upon law, good-will, good government and zeal, and bent on making actual a state of well-being prolonged in a life both here and beyond the grave.

It is this which has made the Gâthas a perennial spring of interest (to some of us); they fascinate us with their uncertainties because in them we come to view the great ideals of the human soul as they developed. And as we draw near the heights where those mighty (completed) concepts are enshrined, smaller and lower interests are left below till we reach the otherwise deserted summit, and feel ourselves alone with what is best and purest in universal nature.

Yes these "uncertainties do not only pique our curiosity. They re-awaken our consciousness as to what is noblest. For as we try to discover the leading point in their shifting sense we must of necessity plan out with the image-making force a scheme of what the intended thoughts may be. And where can we find materials for such a structure, save in our better selves? It is not difficult to see how refreshing this must be to all our higher instincts, calling up our finest creative faculty and bracing it again and again in the refined effort to perfect ideal after ideal and to fill each out till we restore the image half clothed, half hid, in the words before us. While the strange sparseness of the diction (in these hymns) leaves also space, and all the more for the play of æsthetic sensibility, they are the product of no blase age, overloaded with decoration, tawdry and defiled. They are severe as Druid columns, and their solitary simplicity impresses every reader who can at all take in their effect.

L. H. MILLS.

#### I. A Manual of Psychology.

By G. F. Stout, vol. II. London: W. B. Clive, 1899. 8vo, pp. 241—643. Price 4s. 6d.

#### 2. Psychologie der Axiome.

Von Dr. Julius Schultz. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1899. 8vo, pp. 232. Price 6s.

# 3. Critériologie générale, ou Théorie générale de la Certitude.

Par D. Mercier. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1899. 8vo, pp. xii. + 371. Price F. 6.

#### 4. Spencer et le Principe de la Morale.

Par Jules Dubois. Paris: Fischbacher, 1899. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 329.

# 5. Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale, précédée d'un aperçu sur la Philosophie Ancienne.

Par M. de Wulf. Louvain: Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 480. Price Fr.7.50.

#### Institutiones Philosophiae Moralis et Socialis quas in Collegio Maximo Lovaniensi Societatis Jesu, tradebat

- A. Castelein. Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 662.
- 1. The second and completing volume of Mr. Stout's admirable Manual of Psychology is, both in bulk and in interest, more important than the first. The first volume, apart from the introductory matter and general analysis, dealt only with sensation; whereas the present volume deals with perception

and ideational and conceptual process. The most striking feature of Mr. Stout's treatment, as contrasted with that in works of a similar scope, is his insistence on the active faculties of the soul, such as attention and conation. would be fair to call Mr. Stout an "attentionist" in psychology. The result is a great gain not only in truth but in attractiveness. Some of the dullest books in the world have been written on psychology, and psychologists of the older school ought to be thankful that a wit with a genius for nicknames has not fixed some dyslogistic label upon them, as was done to the old political economists. For both are very "dismal". However, Mr. Stout has delivered them from this danger. We no longer feel that the psychologist ignores all the most important facts he ought to explain. Stout's merits are especially shown in some of the later chapters of this volume such as "The External World as Ideal Construction" and "Self as Ideal Construction". His own insight is enriched by a wide and sympathetic knowledge of the work of his predecessors, and in genetic questions, by a sound study of anthropology and ethnology in their original sources.

2. Dr. Schultz's Psychologie is a bright cleverly-written book which, if not very successful in its results, has the merit of being on the right track. His main thesis is thoroughly in accordance with that "radical experientialism" which is the most promising tendency in contemporary British thinking. He objects to regarding those axiomatic truths which form the main framework of our experience as something imposed upon our intellect from without. He argues that they must spring up out of the soul's own inward nature, and must rather be described as its postulates or requirements, and thus as essentially connected with the will. Thus the question arises, How have axioms developed? for it is plain that they do not hold good for the lower forms of life. So far, Dr. Schultz will find many to agree with him in his way of approaching the problem. But he will not find so many to agree with the way he solves it. He puts his trust in a crude physiological form of associationism. In this manner, he explains the leading conceptions and categories of our experience, such as space, time, likeness, identity and uniformity, and, consequently the axioms connected with them. axiom of the uniformity of nature, for example, is of course connected with expectation and inference. Dr. Schultz explains expectation as the effect of a strong associative train, a b c d, which causes us to expect d when a b c have presented themselves, and inference as the same thing in more ideal representative terms. Thus it will be seen that he takes a very mechanical view of mental experience. He is not a materialist; is, in fact, very sarcastic on those who imagine that by refining matter indefinitely you can make it think. But he preserves the essential error of materialism by ignoring the fact that mind must be explained not as an externally determined mechanism but as a self-determining logical system.

3. Professor Mercier's Critériologie générale discusses the question whether there exists a kind of knowledge which philosophical reflection can justify as certain; the further question, What is the sphere of certain knowledge? is reserved for another volume. This division of the subject, though doubtless justifiable on grounds of method, detracts somewhat from the interest of the volume before us. For though the result of the argument is that we possess some certain knowledge, we are not told exactly what it is. By far the greater part of the volume is devoted to criticism, the standpoint being liberal Roman Catholic. The two main errors against which Professor Mercier argues are those of scepticism and exaggerated dogmatism. Under the former head he has naturally a great deal to say about Descartes, Kant and the Positivists. Though there is a good deal of justice in his strictures, he does not show much appreciation of the true meaning of their scepticism. In his criticism of the right wing of his co-religionists, he is on ground less familiar to the English reader and we are glad to read what he has to say about the Vicomte de Bonald, de Lamennais and Pascal

who all, in some form or other, uphold the possibility of an external criterion of certainty. Professor Mercier himself upholds what he calls rational dogmatism and argues for the existence of a criterion which is both internal (that is, residing in the consciousness of the judger), objective and immediate. This criterion, he says, is the warrant for our trust in axiomatic propositions. But the source of it seems to be nothing more than simple intuition; I + I = 2 is certainly true because I see it is so. There is no more interesting or living question than this of the criterion of certainty. Dr. Schultz and Professor Mercier are examples of diametrically opposed methods of treatment. Each has something to say which is worth reading; but for satisfying solutions we must look elsewhere.

4. M. Dubois' Spencer et le Principe de la Morale is one more proof what a dominant position in English thought Mr. Spencer holds according to the view of continental critics. M. Dubois is a licentiate in theology of Lausanne, a sincere believer in Protestant Christianity. He cordially accepts the scientific doctrine of evolution; but the philosophical doctrine based on it, évolutionisme as opposed to évolution, he considers false, and to constitute "a serious danger for the individual and consequently for society". It is as the representative of this unhappy tendency of contemporary thought that he has selected Mr. Spencer for criticism. The book, as its title announces, deals mainly with ethics; but it also contains a preliminary sketch of the general principles of the Synthetic Philosophy. The gist of its complaint against Mr. Spencer's ethics is that he has separated morality from its root in religion. M. Dubois writes of his opponent in a temperate and not unsympathetic spirit, but his estimate of the power and importance of the Spencerian system is not shared by Englishmen who understand philosophy. does not seem to know that we have most of us got beyond Spencer. There are many tokens that he has little knowledge of English thought outside the object of his criticism.

- 5. M. de Wulf's Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale forms part of the same "Cours de Philosophie" as M. Mercier's Critériologie recently mentioned, and is composed from the same Roman Catholic standpoint. It is a clearly-written and well-arranged work with an introductory sketch of ancient philosophy which, though too slight to be of any independent value, suffices to show the connection of medieval thought with that which preceded it. The work does not aspire to be more than a manual, written with special reference to the course of instruction at Louvain. It avoids criticism and gives us the indispensable biographical facts about each author with a précis of his opinions briefer or fuller according to his importance. Much has been done in recent years to throw light on medieval thought, and these new sources are not neglected in the present publication.
- 6. Father Castelein's Institutiones Philosophiae Moralis et Socialis is divided into Ethica generalis and Ethica specialis. The latter forms the bulk of the work but only the former deals with moral philosophy in our sense of the term. The Ethica specialis treats of topics such as property, the relations of employers and employed, matrimony, the origin of society, international law and so on; the content, is to a large extent, hortatory. The doctrine in general may be described as St. Thomas Aquinas brought up to date. Together with time-honoured theses such as "Deus creavit ex amore benevolentiae" we have discussions "de principio Caroli Marx de valore rerum et jure laboris humani". It is difficult for an ordinary Briton to feel more than a mild curiosity in a treatise of this description.

HENRY STURT.

### Symbolik oder Konfessionelle Prinzipienlehre.

Von Dr. K. F. Nösgen, Prof. in Rostock. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 516. Price 8s. 6d.

The author of the work on Confessional literature is well known as a painstaking New Testament critic. His Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels and his History of the New Testament Revelation are thoroughly reliable and scholarly works, written from the conservative and strictly evangelical stand-point. The present treatise is dedicated to Dr. Zöckler of Greifswald, with whom the author has been associated in much of his work, and who occupies upon the whole the same theological position. The author seeks to make his work a pure Symbolik, and to exclude as much as possible both the irenical and the polemical. He also excludes questions of Church practice and polity which find place in many treatises on Symbolics, and confines himself to what is essential in the doctrinal statements of the various divisions of the Church. His object is to present a clear description of the differences which characteristically distinguish the various Churches, and to do this in a purely objective manner. This comparative study of doctrines as given in the Symbolic is not intended to take the place of Dogmatics, but affords materials upon which the religious consciousness of the dogmatist, using his critical faculty and his spiritual intuitions, must work.

After some thirty pages of introduction, in which he treats of the task of Symbolics, its designation, its relation to the other theological sciences, and its distribution and literature, Dr Nösgen proceeds to deal with the contents of his science under a threefold division: (1) An account of the symbols of the various sections of the Church (pp. 33-138). Under this division, after an introductory section on the necessity of

Symbolics for the Church and its importance for the life of the Church, he deals in successive chapters with the Oecumenical Symbols, the Confessions of the Lutheran Church, those of the Reformed Church, those of the Roman Catholic Church, those of the Greek Catholic Church, and those of the smaller Protestant sects. This arrangement is, of course, common to almost all treatises on Symbolics, but the history of the authoritative documents of the several Churches is here very admirably summarised, and for the most part a fair proportion is maintained in the treatment of the various confessional writings. In contrast to previous works of this kind, we find here the Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches discussed before those of the Roman Catholic and Greek Catholic Churches. This is surely a very decided improvement. The symbols of the Unreformed Churches, Western and Eastern, are all of Post-Reformation date. The Tridentine Creed bears the date 1564, and the Orthodox Confession of Mogilas 1643, and both were undoubtedly influenced by the Reformation movement which is given expression to in the Confessions of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. (2) The doctrines of the symbols of the various sections of the Church (pp. 139-420). This portion corresponds upon the whole to the treatment of Comparative Symbolics as given by Winer in his Confessions of Christendom. Lutheran doctrine is made throughout the norm, and the doctrine of Scripture, of God, of man, of Christ, of justification, etc., in each of the other divisions of the Christian Church, is compared and criticised according to the standard of Lutheran orthodoxy. All this is done with sufficient fulness of detail. and here the author shows himself thoroughly familiar with the doctrinal significance of the confessional literature of the Christian Church. (3) An account of the fundamental character of the several sections of the Church (pp. 421-502). part of the work is rather disappointing. What the author actually does he does well. He presents us with a very clear and on the whole a correct statement of the doctrinal and constitutional development of the Lutheran, Reformed, Roman, Greek, and other Churches as shown in their history. If

this is what is sought, it perhaps could not be better done in the compass of eighty pages than it is done here. But the question arises as to whether any statement of this kind is necessary or desirable in a Symbolic. It can evidently be better done in a History of Doctrine. What is really wanted in this third part of the Symbolic is an exhibition, on the basis of its comparative statement of the doctrines of the creeds of the various sections of the Church, of the characteristic doctrinal contribution made by each division of the Church to the common doctrine of the Church Catholic. It should set forth the raison d'être of each particular Church. This, no doubt, would prove by far the most difficult task for any writer on Symbolics, and for this reason probably has not been in any thoroughgoing fashion attempted in any of the treatises that have been published on this branch of theological science. We have now quite an abundance of treatises, in each of which very similar résumés are given of the history of the several confessional writings and of the doctrinal differences of their formularies. What we now want is a treatise which, on the basis of the work already quite satisfactorily done, would give us, not the history of the development of doctrine generally in each particular Church, but the characteristic contribution which each has made to Christian theology.

In Dr Nösgen's work references to British and American theological literature are commendably frequent and generally correct. There are a few misprints, chiefly of English words. On p. 134 William Penn's name is given as Peu, in the index as Pen, though on p. 135 the name of the State of Pennsylvania is rightly spelt. On p. 138 we have Howard instead of Harvard. In quoting from Channing's Evidences of Christianity, on p. 25, we have authenty for authority, and harmonous for harmonious; and on p. 502, exemple for example, and Christi for Christ's. On p. 497 we have assecurance for assurance; on p. 468 Law-church-party for Low-church-party.

The two Indices of subjects and authorities are admirably complete and serviceable.

JOHN MACPHERSON.

### The Expositor's Greek Testament.

Edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., LL.D. Vol. II.

I. The Acts of the Apostles. By the Rev. R. J. Knowling, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, King's College, London. II. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. By the Rev. James Denney, D.D., Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology, Free Church College, Glasgow. III. St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By the Rev. G. G. Findlay, B.A., Professor of Biblical Literature, Exegesis and Classics, Headingley College. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Pp. 953. Price 28s. Subscription price for Vols. I. and II., 30s net.

FAR later than the general editor, and certainly than the purchasers of the first volume, could wish, the second volume of this most important commentary, a sort of "Alford up to date," has just appeared. One is safe in saying that a good and full English commentary on Acts is a real want in our literature, and that this part of the work has been looked for with special expectancy. Accordingly to it most space must here be devoted.

Dr. Knowling's work strikes one as marked at once by great merits and by great limitations. What learning, accumulated with watchful diligence and arranged with patient care; accuracy and sobriety in appraising the positive evidence for rival views; conscientiousness in taking account of difficulties in so far as he himself feels them; in a word, what the scholar, as distinct from the historian, can do, this has been achieved. But something more than these is needed, particularly in the Introduction, the effect of which should be really to introduce the reader to the Book of Acts, to enable him to stand by the side of its writer, as he writes, and share his mind as it unfolds its contents in detail. This is

what a scholar like Ramsay does, but what Dr. Knowling rather fails to do. Nor is it otherwise with the commentary itself. Throughout he shows himself a good grammarian. philologer, archæologist, and a man of good common-sense to boot. But the sense is apt to be a little too common at times, too easily satisfied with showing more "critical" views than his own to be difficult or arbitrary, without feeling any obligation to do more, namely, to show how the view preferred fits organically into the historical situation and into the life of the Apostolic Age as a whole. The attitude is too purely apologetic to be really constructive; too passive to be fully interpretative; and the result is that "the first Church History" is not really illumined, and the reader but faintly feels the pulse of the life that lay behind it. The defect is the more serious that it is so common among English scholars. Repelled by German "subjectivity," which often falls into arbitrariness, they are far too apt to be content with the rather barren work of "criticising the critics," instead of trying to do better what the others are essaying amiss. If it be said that Dr. Knowling's work is a commentary and not a history of the Apostolic Age, we reply that the value of a commentary on a history depends ultimately upon insight into the history in all its bearings, and that the larger part of the commentator's task is to make the modern reader see and read the book in its original setting and in relation to the main interests of the age to which it first appealed. What is most needed is a real Gesammtanschauung of the whole situation, both objectively (as recoverable from all sources) and as viewed from the author's standpoint and in the light of his aim in writing.

Now it cannot be said that Dr. Knowling conveys this to his reader. Indeed his handling of certain problems suggests that he has not made any very serious effort to attain it himself, and that just because the need is but faintly present to his own mind. Not that he is actually less controlled by a sort of theory of the Apostolic Age than those of the opposite camp; but his prepossession is more unconscious and traditional in character. If we may attempt to describe a thing

so subtle yet so pervasive, we would put it somewhat in this way: Dr. Knowling started his studies with the naïve assumption, due to others, that the typical Christianity of the Apostolic Age was practically identical with Anglicanism, as to its spirit, institutions, and dominant interests. This assumption has, no doubt, suffered some shocks in the course of very wide reading among writers of other and less traditional schools; but it has not to his mind been demonstrated untenable, and so it survives and influences his judgment in the cases where the evidence does not make an Anglican reading almost impossible to one who understands and respects historical methods. Such methods Dr. Knowling does respect; and so he loyally yields where, in any given case, he finds Apostolic Christians to have been less "Catholic" in forms of thought or usage than an Anglican would have expected, and than "Catholic" commentators have for fifteen centuries usually admitted. But his fundamental idea of primitive Christianity—its very  $\hat{\eta}\theta_{00}$ —does not appear to have been derived straight enough from the broad features of its literature to satisfy the requirements of the case. Thus his attitude remains dogmatic rather than historical; it is controlled by standards not demonstrable of the Apostolic Age, and less and less supported the nearer we get to it.

A few instances of this bias may be given. It leads not only to a constant minimising of the Jewish element in the Apostles' outlook and religious observances in the early chapters of Acts, and a corresponding tendency to strain the references to Christ as  $K\acute{\nu}\rho\iota\sigma_{S}$  (as if necessarily = Jehovah), but also to an ignoratio elenchi in remarks like the following: "Whilst we note these titles [i.e., Petrine titles for Jesus, like the  $\pi a\hat{\imath}_{S}$  of Isaiah,  $\acute{o}$   $\acute{a}\gamma\iota\sigma_{S}$   $\kappa a\hat{\imath}$   $\acute{o}$   $\acute{k}\kappa a\iota\sigma_{S}$ ], steeped each and all of them in Old Testament imagery, whilst we may see in them the germs of the later and the deeper theology of St. Paul and St. John, they carry us far beyond the conception of a mere humanitarian Christ". Now no exegete worth noticing alleges that any Apostle believed in "a mere humanitarian" Christ—though he may think that to call

something the germ of another may often mean gliding too easily over a problem of difference. But if so, why put such a phrase into a commentary at all? It is as misleading as to write, "We cannot consistently explain the expression (τη κλάσει του ἄρτου in Acts ii. 42) of a mere common meal ". Who would do so? A common meal among early Christians was in any case an act of sacred or religious fellowship, not a mere meal. Again, speaking of the office of the Seven in chap. vi., Dr. Knowling declares: "the appointment, the consecration, and the qualifications for it depend upon the Apostles". For the second of these phrases there might be some colour; but for the third there seems absolutely none. in face of the qualifications already demanded in those set before the Apostles for appointment. And the warping effect of ideas of ecclesiastical grace comes out yet more clearly when he comments thus on ver. 6: "But ver. 8 undoubtedly justifies us in believing that an accession of power was granted after the laying on of hands," because "now for the first time mention is made of St. Stephen's τέρατα καὶ σημεῖα μέγαλα" —things, forsooth, which formed no part of the office to which he was commissioned. Bias does not often lead our commentator quite so much captive as it does here, but it constantly makes itself felt. Thus he says on viii. 15: "It is difficult to believe that St. Luke can mean to limit the expression (λαμβάνειν Πνεθμα ἄγιον) here and in the following verse to anything less than a bestowal of that Divine indwelling of the spirit (sic) which makes the Christian the temple of God, and which St. Paul speaks of in the very same terms as a permanent possession (Gal. iii. 2; Rom. viii. 15)". The sense here may be obscure to moderns who do not realise how much visible proof it required to convince Jewish Christians that outsiders like the Samaritans were really admitted to the Messianic salvation. But surely St. Paul at least cannot be invoked to prove that the believing soul's reception of the indwelling Spirit waited upon the laying on of hands of anybody. Nor do we believe that St. Luke held any such external view of salvation, as though one could be a real Christian and be other than a temple of God by the

Spirit's presence. The outward or semi-physical manifestations of the Spirit's indwelling might indeed be absent, where full receptivity was hindered by imperfect teaching, as in the case of "disciples" or "believers" in Acts xix. 2 ff. But where faith in Jesus as Lord was, there was the Spirit (see I Cor. xii. 3) in essential indwelling. On Acts xix. 2 ff., as also on the case of Apollos, Dr. Knowling can cast but little light, being hampered by the external sense in which he takes "knowing (ἐπιστάμενος) only John's baptism," and thinking about rites when stages or degrees of revelation are primarily in question. Indeed, in Apollos' case, Acts says nothing about his advance in Christian experience having any connection with baptism, let alone laying on of hands. That the latter rite helped faith's receptivity is clear from Acts: but that its virtue depended upon the status of the person assisting in this solemn accompaniment of prayerful benediction is negatived by several passages which reduce Dr. Knowling to sore straits. Thus in ix. 17, 'Ανανίας εἰσηλθεν . . . καὶ ἐπιθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὰς χεῖρας εἶπε, Σαούλ ἀδελφέ, ὁ Κύριος ἀπέσταλκέ με . . . ὅπως ἀναβλέψης καὶ πλησθῆς πνεύματος άγίου, his comment reads: "not as bestowing the Holy Ghost (for see context), but as recovering from his blindness"—a truly notable inference from the words united by καί.

Another crux for those who view grace as conducted down through properly graded official channels, from the higher to the lower, occurs in the "separating" and solemn dismission of Barnabas and Saul by the Antiochene Church through the agency of its spiritual leaders, "prophets and teachers". After a good deal of vacillation, Dr. Knowling concludes that "even in Paul's case the laying on of hands recognised, if it did not bestow, his apostolic commission, and 'the ceremony of Ordination, when it was not the channel of the grace, was its recognition," (Gore)." This is the language of "cycles and epicycles," not of sober science. The whole trouble comes from ecclesiasticism, the habit of mind that in the light of later tradition views "laying on of hands" as doing more than recognising that men were "sent forth by the Holy

Spirit," and "commending to the grace of God" (xiv. 26, xv. 40) those indicated. From a like bias proceeds the statement that the command in Luke xxiv. 49 "was certainly given only to the twelve" (yet see ver. 33)—a remark made to prove a similar limitation in Acts i. 4 (yet see ii. 1, the fulfilment). Conversely, in Acts xv. 28, no reference is made to the objective indication of the Spirit's mind in the missionary facts alluded to in vv. 8, 12, as naturally determining the phrase  $\delta \delta \delta \xi \epsilon \tau \hat{\phi} \, \hat{a} \gamma l \psi \, \pi \nu \epsilon \nu \mu a \tau l \kappa a l h \mu l \nu$ .

But Dr. Knowling is too fair-minded not to feel the force of many observations pointing in another direction, once they are pressed on his attention by others. Thus his notes abound in excellent citations of a less "ecclesiastical" type than his own judgment approves, so that an independent student generally has the materials put before him for viewing the main points in various lights. This is as it should be in a new Alford. Yet even honest intentions sometimes leave a good deal to be desired in such notes. At times he misses the real point of difficulty to others, as when, in dealing ably with the case of Theudas, he says nothing of the curious resemblance in the order of reference in Josephus and Acts: or when he fails to notice the strange limitation of the Divine choice implied in the prior human selection of two candidates for the place vacated by Judas; or dismisses the difficulty in xv. 10, by citing xiii. 30, and remarking that "St. Peter no less than St. Paul endorses the charge made by St. Stephen" (vii. 53)—a note significant of much else in the commentary, wherever shades of doctrinal difference are involved. But further, when all difficulties are stated—we hesitate to say faced, for Dr. Knowling does not seem to feel some enough to face them—he often shuns giving his own personal judgment on the data, to a degree which amounts to hedging. We do not want any confident ipse dixit; but we do want a little more thinking a thing through to a conclusion, however provisional.

We have already hinted that Dr. Knowling's eye for distinctions is hardly adequate to the facts. This is not unconnected, perhaps, with his rather passive attitude to

the supposed traces of different sources shining through even Luke's unifying style. We think he would be able to handle some things more satisfactorily if he did not treat them as seen all on the same plane, as it were, and refrained from trying to dovetail them into each other without any reference to the possible history of the tradition in different circles before it reached Luke. Acts i. 18 is a case in point, as also the foreign tongues at Pentecost. Though we may not be able to mark the exact limits of any of Luke's sources in Acts, any more than we could in his Gospel but for the survival of Mark's Gospel, we surely can feel their effect, upon the conceptions and the Hebraic turns of expression of the Petrine discourses, for instance; and our exegesis ought to be influenced thereby, when it is a matter of the original facts or interpretations, as distinct from the light in which the Gentile and largely Pauline author of Acts viewed them. In this connexion one must warn against the easy way in which Dr. Knowling is apt to fall back upon St. Paul as the direct source of Luke's accounts. If it be true, as we agree with him in believing, that the hand of a companion of St. Paul is seen in the independence of the Pauline writings which marks Acts, we must not assume that Paul and Luke talked over all the former's life and history. The contrasts between their accounts of the same episodes, e.g., in chaps. ix., xv., are so great, that they cease to compromise Lucan authorship only when we assume that Luke was working largely on secondary sources, such as the tradition of the Antiochene Church. As long as Ouellenkritik is discounted, there will remain the element of unreality and artificial combination which haunts one's mind in reading typical English work, even when as good as Dr. Knowling's.

A practically uniform valuation of all parts of Acts really ceased to be possible once the old traditional standpoint of Divine dictation, as opposed to composition under normal human conditions, was given up. But its effects survive on almost every page of this commentary. Its author constantly forgets that he is commenting on the words of Luke (or of an intermediate source), not on a shorthand

reporter's notes of the utterances of an Ananias or a Paul (see note on ix. 13). Often it makes practically no difference to whom the exact phraseology is referred; but elsewhere it is of great moment. Thus in Acts xx. 25, it is one thing that St. Paul should utter the confident (but, as Dr. Knowling thinks, unfulfilled) anticipation that he was looking on the Ephesian elders for the last time; and another that Luke should record such words in a highly condensed summary of his address, knowing that they fell to the ground. He was under no obligation to record them, as if giving a verbatim report: or at least he had no reason to underline them by words of his own in ver. 38, which, on the hypothesis of a subsequent visit to Ephesus, are gratuitous, if not misleading.

It has been needful, where a book's merits are so great and patent as in the present case, to spend space mainly on caveats against serious limitations, typical as these are of the tendency hitherto prevalent in Anglican scholarship in the field of Acts. For the effect of such a work on many minds is to arrest rather than further the advance of real insight into the Apostolic Age. Its wealth of learning; its calm and candid manner; its respectful tone towards other scholars even when they seem to go wrong, and badly wrong; these and many other virtues are sure to convey to those not already conversant with the problems (often really left a good deal "in the air") an impression of historical solidity far in excess of what really belongs to Dr. Knowling's interpretations.

Our author's careful verbal exegesis is generally sound; and his textual criticism (in which he acknowledges the valuable help of the Rev. Harold Smith, of St. John's College, Cambridge) is admirable. Thus it is in the region of the lower criticism that his advance on Alford is most marked. In the higher criticism, allowing for their respective dates, Dr. Knowling (who mostly puts matter of this sort into notes appended to each chapter) seems distinctly Alford's inferior. And this inferiority would be doubly apparent, were it not for the wise, though too purely eclectic, use which the later writer makes of Ramsay and Hort. Indeed, the effective and exhaustive way in which he has concentrated on each

point the relevant observations of these men of historic insight, is one of the greatest services of his work. The recent works of Blass, Wendt, and Zahn have also been laid under contribution to excellent purpose—Blass in particular, who is in many ways a commentator after our author's own heart. We are glad to see that he has maintained a prudent reserve towards Blass' extraordinary partiality for his  $\beta$  text: we think, however, that he might have spoken more decidedly against Blass' almost baseless theory of the two Lucan recensions. But it is needless to particularise the books which Dr. Knowling virtually puts at the disposal of the readers of his notes. It is the exhaustiveness of his reading and his skill in producing it at the fitting points, that constitutes the greatest merit of his work and his strongest claim to our hearty gratitude.

The contrast felt in passing from Dr. Knowling's work to Dr. Denney's is great. Of course the tasks were in themselves very different; but that explains only part of what one feels. Dr. Denney is immeasurably more inside his subject, is one in sympathy and temper with his author throughout. This gives him grip and insight, often to a remarkable degree. Indeed, in feeling for St. Paul's religious experience and the resulting theological outlook, he seems to excel all recent English commentators. It is this which makes his work no superfluity alongside that of Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam. The fine scholarship, in the larger sense, and the eye for the historic setting of the Apostle's thought and for its many-sidedness, which mark that work, have no doubt been of the greatest service to the later writer. But there is an element in it which Dr. Denney has happily refused to countenance; and that is the tendency to tone down St. Paul's distinctive emphasis in his doctrine of Justification, in order to bring it more into line with the doctrine as conceived by other New Testament writers, and particularly by "Catholic" and Ritschlian dogmatic-which here as at some other points have a strange affinity. On this Dr. Denney will have no compromise; and we believe that those to whom the

Pauline Gospel has meant most in experience—as it did to the Reformers-will on the whole support him. He rightly protests against the attempt to disturb the emphasis and perspective of the Pauline Gospel, as a vital power and not a system of doctrines, involved in the suggestion that "the most fundamental doctrines . . . are assumed rather than stated or proved" in Romans. This has always been the only way in which Paulinism could be made palatable to "Catholics"; and even this is felt by many of them, of whom Dr. Baring-Gould is a sort of mouthpiece, to be evasion. Protestantism in its prime was right in claiming St. Paul as peculiarly its own, because religion meant the same thing to him and to it, viz., an experience in relation to God; whereas to Catholicism this was confusedly coordinated with other and largely external things. Dr. Denney protests, "there can be only one fundamental doctrine, and that doctrine for Paul is the doctrine of justification by faith. That is not part of his Gospel, it is the whole of it: there Luther is his true interpreter." This extract, read in its context and with what follows, sets Romans, as the sum of St. Paul's Gospel, in its true light. And if one would get to the heart of its teaching and see how all its vital force springs from this deep experience, one could hardly wish for a more lucid and appreciative interpreter than Dr. Denney.

We had marked a number of illustrations of this estimate, but can only refer readers to the loci classici, specifying the discussion of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, the critical note on ἔχομεν in v. I, the notes on ἐφ' ῷ πάντες ἥμαρτον, and the handling of highly experimental or mystical passages like vi. I-I4, vii. 7 ff.; viii. 18 ff. In one case, an important one, Dr. Denney's zeal for Paul's central idea does seem to blind him to the more natural sense of Paul's words; namely in viii. 3. Here he seems wrong in insisting on the idea of expiation of sin, in contrast to the simple breaking of its usurped power—the latter being the only thought present in the preceding chapter on Sin and Law in relation to the Flesh. The introductions to the several sections of the argument

are lucid and to the point. A fine specimen of them is that prefixed to chaps. ix.-xi.; that introducing the practical applications or Christian ethic of the epistle is also excellent.

The general Introduction calls for no special comment. It takes what seem the best views as to the origin of the Church at Rome, its character, the character of the epistle, its occasion and purpose, and the integrity of the epistle: and it sets them all forth with vigour and clearness. Our last reflexion is one which has recurred again and again, and it is this: What an advantage it is now a days to have a commentary that is written by a man who is a theologian at heart!

Our space is well-nigh exhausted: and so the work of the third of our authors must, to our deep regret, be characterised in very few and inadequate words. Prof. Findlay needs no introduction to students of St. Paul; and the present commentary on I Corinthians is marked by his wonted learning, care and insight. The epistle is one where detail abounds; and to select a few examples is to do little towards giving a true impression of the notes. Here and there things are said that are hardly satisfying. Professor Ramsay's recent comments in the Expositor should be read, for instance, alongside of those on chap. v. I ff. The difficult topic of Paul's attitude to "idols" as real beings, in viii. 4 ff., needs further elucidation: while we doubt whether Prof. Findlay has caught what lies behind 'Ανάθεμα 'Ιησοῦς in xii. 3. Nor has he been able to throw any fresh light on the "Christ party". But the general effect of his exegesis throughout is good, and shows due sense of the primitive ecclesiastical state and "The matter is sentiment of the Corinthian Church. broken up for clearer elucidation into sixty short sections, each furnished with a heading and prefatory outline."

To the eye this commentary differs from the others a good deal. It adheres closely to Alford's arrangement of the parallels of thought and phraseology; and is here very rich. This relieves the notes, which are made highly condensed by a system of abbreviations, carried to an aggravating point.

The introduction is rather brief, as if the exigencies of space (relative to the whole volume) had proved hampering at the last stage. It includes a chapter on "The Teaching of the Epistle," as well as the obvious one on "Paul's Communications with Corinth," around which of course there gathers much debate. We lay down Professor Findlay's work with sincere respect, and wish for it, as for the whole of this instalment of the "Expositor's Greek Testament" (in spite of the Textus Receptus which it perpetuates beyond its proper time), the study which it deserves.

VERNON BARTLET.

#### Die Psalmen erklärt.

Von B. Duhm. Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr, 1899. (Kurzer Hand-Commentar). 8vo, pp. xxxii. + 312. Price M.6.

DUHM's work consists, as such books usually do, of two parts, Introduction and Commentary. The Introduction contains a great deal of matter, though given in a very condensed form, and is marked by a tone of much decisiveness and certitude. It contains discussions on such things as these: (a) the Psalm-book in general, its place in the Canon, and the period when the collection was closed; (b) The smaller collections within the general collection: (c) The date of composition and authors of the individual psalms. (d) The Psalter as religious book of the people; and finally (e) Metrical and musical. Division (c) is perhaps the most interesting and characteristic part of the Introduction. Duhm classifies the Psalms in the collection into: (1) Psalms anterior to the Maccabean period (B.C. 167). (2) Psalms from the period of the Maccabean conflicts. (3) Psalms from the period when the Maccabean (Hasmonean) chiefs bore the title of high priest. (4) Psalms from the period after they assumed the royal title, and (5) Psalms of a polemical kind, emanating from the party of the Pharisees, the opponents of the Hasmonean rule.

Duhm fixes the close of the psalm collection at about B.C. 70. He argues that the small collection known as the Psalter of Solomon, emanating from the party of the Pharisees and belonging to the early Roman period (about B.C. 63), was most probably excluded from the general psalm collection because the limits of the latter were already fixed. There are, however, he thinks, psalms in our Psalter which are due to the party of the Pharisees, e.g., Psalm xvii. In the end of verse four of this psalm, indeed, Duhm considers that the

word Pharisee (Parish, separated one) originally stood, though for reasons that may be conjectured, the word violent (Parîts) was afterwards substituted for it. And there are psalms which must belong to the time when the Hasmoneans bore the title of king, and may be assigned to the date B.C. 100-80. Duhm therefore suggests the year B.C. 70 as the date of the final redaction of the Psalter, but he adds that if any one has a fancy for the year one of the Christian era nobody could refute him.

Speaking of pre-Maccabean psalms, the author remarks that Ps. cxxxvii., written by an exile in Babylon, may well be the oldest poem in the Psalter. There may, of course, be more ancient passages, but it is impossible to recognise them, and there is not a single psalm which would suggest to an unprejudiced reader that it could be or must be pre-exilic. Neither is there certain evidence that any psalms belong to the Persian period, though of course some may. If any one contend that Ps. viii., for example, belongs to the fourth century, it would be impossible to disprove his contention. Psalms from the Greek period anterior to the Syrian oppression and violence to the temple and city may be Ps. xlvi., xlviii., lxxvi., less certainly lxxxiv. (first part) and lxxxvii. Ps. xvi. and possibly li. protest against the encroaching Greek influences. Ps. iii., iv., xi., lxii., are possibly by pre-Maccabean high priests. The unfortunate high priest Onias III. may be author of the touching complaint of an exile in Ps. xlii., xliii., and Ps. xxiii., xxvii. (first part) may belong to the earlier and better time of his high-priesthood. It is, however, to the time beginning with the Maccabean troubles and ending with the death of Alexander Jannæus (circa B.C. 170-80) that the great majority of the psalms belong.

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Professor Duhm has been able to fix the date of a number of psalms with absolute certainty, and that of very many others with the highest probability. Ps. ii., for example, celebrates the assumption of the royal title by Aristobulus I., B.C. 105, and Ps. xx., xxi., lxi., lxiii., lxxii., cxxxii. and others most probably belong to his reign and that of his brother Alexander Jannæus. Ps. cx. 1-4, is an acrostic on the name

of Simon, and belongs to B.C. 141. Duhm is not peculiar in this view. The passage is certainly very obscure. Its meaning appears to be expressed in ver. I, Sit on My right hand; ver. 4, Thou art a priest for ever, seems an exposition of ver. 1, expressing the consequences of it, but is no independent oracle. That is, the words in ver. I are addressed to one already a priest; he is invited to take his seat at God's right hand, either on His throne or beside it, and so be henceforth a royal priest. All this seems little in accordance with the circumstances of Simon, not to mention the extravagance of the language if applied to him. Apart from the interpretation put on certain psalms there is no evidence that any belief existed among the people to the effect that the perfection of the kingdom of God and the fulfilment of the Messianic hopes would be attained in the line of the Hasmonean rulers. that Duhm seems to assert is that such psalms as ii., cx., were written either by these princes themselves, or more probably, as they were usually occupied with other things, by some of their devoted partisans, in order to support their pretensions by suggesting that they were fulfilling the ancient prophecies, and destined to realise the Messianic hopes; though other parties among the people were in vehement opposition to them. The effect of this view on the estimation in which the psalms are to be held can easily be seen: the Psalter becomes a bundle of violently antagonistic petty party manifestoes. The certainty, however, with which Duhm fixes the time of so many of the psalms has something eminently satisfactory in it. The date of the psalms will be a vexed question no longer. One has only to turn up the pages of Duhm's work.

Many things in Duhm's Commentary are striking and suggestive; many other things will be considered fanciful and perverse; and everything of course receives a colour from the late date to which the psalms are assigned. As was to be expected from the author, the criticism of the text and textual emendations are courageous, as the example already given from Ps. xvii. will show. The literary criticism, e.g., the disintegration of single psalms into two or more

elements, will appear to many carried to excess. Not only are such psalms as xix., xxiv., which might not unnaturally be thought composite, operated upon, but many others, such as Ps. xxii. In one particular Duhm goes straight against prevalent modern criticism: the "allegorical I"—i.e., I considered as the voice of the congregation or people—he speaks of as a spook that has taken to "walking" lately. In his view the I is in all cases an individual person.

Duhm's general judgment on the psalms will be felt to be rather depreciatory. With some exceptions, such as the psalms of degrees (Ps. cxx. ff.), he thinks them commonplace and conventional. It is for this reason that they are so popular, for it is the trite and trivial, when it corresponds to their needs, that people like. Perhaps this judgment of Duhm's on the Psalter is more literary and intellectual than religious; it is such a judgment as a man of literary taste would pass on the hymnology of our own times. Hence he seems to think the psalms most effective in a translation; it is when one reads the original that he is disillusioned. Duhm's opinion of the literary poverty of the Psalter is not of much consequence; it is his view of the date and origin of the psalms that, if accepted, will have serious consequences for the religious worth of the psalms. His view reduces them in a great measure to party squibs, the authors of which, while no doubt occasionally blessing God, are mostly occupied in cursing each other.

A. B. DAVIDSON.

## The Church Past and Present: A Review of its History.

By the Bishop of London, Bishop Barry and other writers. Edited by the Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, M.A., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge; D.D. of Edinburgh. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. viii. + 295. Price 7s. 6d. net.

This is a notable book. We have had of late several volumes of essays, much on the same plan as this one, representing different schools of theology, and giving a series of studies or pronouncements on the religious and ecclesiastical questions which are most in the public eye at present. Each of these has its value. Each contains some able and significant papers, but it is not too much to say that the papers collected in this volume are the ablest and the most significant. They are edited by Professor Gwatkin, than whom we have no better authority in the wide field of Church history. They represent the best school of scientific historical inquiry. They are the work of men whose object it is to write, in the words of the preface, "not as advocates of this or that party in Church or State, but as students who are persuaded that history as well as science is the message of the Spirit to our own time".

While they are at one in the general conception of historical inquiry, the authors of these papers write independently. Each is responsible for his own contribution. Each has been left free to follow his own way and give his own conclusions. This liberty has been fully used. We find different opinions expressed on some points, and the same questions presented at times under different aspects. There is a certain measure of variety, which never, however, goes the length of dissonance or contradiction. The papers are of different degrees of interest. Some are less brilliant than others, but all are

the work of capable, broad-minded men, whose purpose it is to get to the realities of things, and who deserve to be listened to. The writers recognise that the unfolding of the meaning of the historical facts which constitute the Gospel is a "work of many ages; that its fulness far transcends the systems of Latin sectarianism, and that every return to the limitations of a buried past is so much sin against the Holy Spirit's teaching to our time". This is the attitude in which they profess to approach their subjects, and in most things they are true to that profession. They hold no brief for the traditional or the accustomed in creed or ecclesiastical usage. They are not of those who think that the highest loyalty to truth is seen in a simple reproduction of the past. They have the profoundest regard for the past, and make it their object to ascertain exactly what it was. But they do not put themselves in bondage to it. Their wish is to get at the real meaning of the past; to exhibit the spirit that was in it and made it what it was; and to reach the essential truths and principles which constituted its life and essence. And in this way they will bring us to see in what respect and to what extent the Church of the past should be the teacher of the Church of the present, its model and its law.

The opening paper, which is by the Rev. J. Llewellyn Davies, deals with the "Apostolic Age". It begins by reminding us that, in what is said of the Christian Society or Church, the New Testament describes "not a fixed arrangement such as might be copied and reproduced, but a growing organism;" and that "our attention is drawn by the sacred history much more to the propaganda committed to the envoys of Christ, and to the working of the Spirit in the lives of the believers, than to details of the Church's internal constitution". From that it proceeds to give us in broad outline the writer's view of the way in which the Church was led on step by step, not by human authority, but by "the direct rule of Christ and the moving power of the Spirit"; how the Twelve gradually faded "as a governing body out of the history of the Church"; how certain offices came to be instituted and some simple provision naturally came to be

made for internal organisation; and how through all the period there was as little of a constitutional governing body for the Church universal as there is now. The Editor follows with a paper on the "Second Century"—remarkable for its large generalisations, its terse, vivid statements, and its faculty for taking us to the principles of things. It gives telling pictures of the storm which separated the Apostolic Age from the sub-Apostolic; the contrast between the two periods; the general characteristics of the second century; the points of likeness and unlikeness between it and later centuries. It describes also how the three great needs of that age, viz., the strengthening of Church government, the placing of the teaching of the Church on a basis of authority, and the expressing of that teaching in forms that should be mistaken neither by friend nor by foe, were met.

In the course of his summary of the movement of the Church in the direction of government, Professor Gwatkin gives his views on the questions that are most debated. He sees of course no trace of bishops in the monarchical sense in the New Testament, but recognises that by the end of the second century "every city has its one bishop, who for his lifetime is head of the presbyters and official guardian of orthodoxy in that city". He finds a hint of the episcopal office in such "a vicar-apostolic as Timothy," but thinks he was no more than a special commissioner, who was soon recalled and probably never saw Ephesus again. This is sufficient reason, in his opinion, against taking Timothy as "bishop" in the understood sense of the word. He deems it "needless as well as unhistorical to suppose that the Apostles ordained Episcopacy as the one lawful form of Church government". He admits on the other hand that "John must have seen its rise in Asia, and seen it without disapproval, to say the least". And in brief his view is that "monarchy is the natural resource of men in times of danger"; that the Apostolic Churches were led by circumstances to make their bishops "centres of unity and guardians of orthodoxy"; and that episcopacy was "so visibly the best and strongest form of government for the second

century, that hardly anything short of a definite prohibition by the Apostles could have prevented its spread ". Professor Gwatkin concludes this valuable paper by putting and answering the question-How is the Church of this second century to be classed in relation to modern Churches? His answer is the answer which the impartial student of history must give. In the Church of that important epoch we see "plenty of the Protestant doctrine which the Latin Church rejects". But it has not "the distinctive emphasis of Protestantism". "For good or for evil, the simplicity of early times was gone for ever long before the Reformation." In a very obvious and intelligible sense that century was not Protestant. But it certainly was not Catholic, whether Roman, Greek or Anglican, in the sense given to that term by many. It had little of the Latin doctrine which Protestantism repudiated. It had germs of evil, but not more than germs, in prayers for the dead, enthusiasm for martyrs, and some other things. But it had nothing like a Papal jurisdiction; no "tradition of ritual, discipline, or dogma, which individual Churches are not free to alter as they think fit"; no authority of the nature of an infallible council; no trace of a sacrificing priesthood; nothing in the Lord's Supper, but "bread with a blessing".

Professor Gwatkin also writes the papers on the "Latin Church," the "Origins of Church Government," and "Protestantism". They are all excellent, suggestive and informing studies. Among their best things are the statements on the Cyprianic theory, the Hildebrandine Reformation, the view of man that determined the whole attitude of the Latin Church, and the task of the Reformation. These are necessarily very brief statements, but they go to the root of the matter. There are at the same time some things that provoke protest, and some that surprise us. There is, e.g., a preference expressed for the Greek type of theology which seems to us to be more than can be justified by its actual nature and history. No doubt that theology has its points of advantage, and there are certain respects in which it appeals more to the modern spirit. But there is another side to it

which is not presented here, and it is too much to speak of it as if a recall of it was to be the great healing measure for the troubles of the religious thinker of modern times. We should have expected a historian like Professor Gwatkin, too, to use juster terms than he occasionally allows himself to slip into when referring to Calvinism. He gives, it is true, a very fair account of the achievements of the Calvinistic faith. But when Calvinism is classed with Asceticism as a system that "despairs of the world," and when it is pronounced to be in its fundamental ideas "much nearer to Rome than either Lutheranism or the Church of England," we feel disposed to rub our eyes and wonder whether it is indeed Professor Gwatkin who speaks.

The paper on the "Origins of Church Government" is one of the best in the book. It is a thoroughly scientific study, and gives within very brief space a remarkably full, fair and penetrating discussion of its subject. The various passages in the New Testament which are taken to establish the existence of the bishop in the Apostolic Church are examined and declared to be insufficient for the purpose. As the necessity of Episcopal government is not made out by the witness of Scripture, the principles of the Church of England bind those who adhere to it to deny that that form of government, it is frankly stated, "belongs to the essence of a lawful Church, however legitimate and useful it may be". As regards the testimony of early Christian writers, Professor Gwatkin holds it to be "as certain as any historical fact can well be, that there was no bishop in the important Church of Corinth when Clement wrote". The presbyters in that Church are responsible, not to any ecclesiastical superior, but to Christian opinion. "From beginning to end of a long letter, Clement never gives us the faintest hint that the presbyters of Corinth either had, or ought to have had, over them any human authority whatsoever." Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna, but a "monarchical bishop can hardly be hid among the bishops and deacons greeted by him". And the point which Professor Gwatkin consequently puts is this: that if the system of Episcopacy had been set up by particular

apostolic command, these two Churches—both Churches of importance—must have been flagrant instances of disobedience, and that the same would be the case with the Churches contemplated in the Didaché, whereas we have no historical reason for attaching such a character to them. The condition of things which appears in the Ignatian Epistles is dealt with in the same spirit. The evidence of these epistles is accepted as decisive proof that, by the time of their author, Episcopacy "had got a footing in Syria, in Asia, and probably elsewhere"; that the bishops referred to are most likely monarchical; and that, "if reasonable time be allowed for this spread of Episcopacy, its beginnings in Asia must fall within the lifetime of St. John". The conclusion, therefore, is that, while there was no apostolic command in its behalf, Episcopacy is "like monarchy, an ancient and godly form of government, which we may well be content to live under and loyally to serve".

There is much on which one might dwell in the papers by Dr. Bigg on the "School of Alexandria," and the Rev. G. Schneider on "The Age of Councils". Dr. Bigg has a better claim than most men to write on the great Alexandrines, and he gives us a masterly sketch here of their characteristic positions, ideas and services. Mr. Schneider's estimate of the Councils and their work is also an able performance. He is alive to their limitations, and to the objections that may easily be urged against their ways and their contributions to ecclesiastical thought and life. But he looks at them in their proper historical perspective, and says much that is true of their real place and service in the movement of Christian thought and action. The Bishop of London contributes a clever paper on "The Reformation," which must have been pleasant to listen to in its original form as an address at a Church Congress, but which is a less weighty article than might reasonably have been expected. Professor Collins writes interestingly on "England before the Reformation," Dr. Hunt on the "Rise of Dissent in England," and Chancellor Lias on "Romanism since the Reformation". Another paper of great importance is one by Canon Meyrick on the "History of the Lord's Supper". This seems to us to be a particularly valuable and enlightening study. Patiently, and with a penetrating but reverent criticism, it traces the course of opinion and practice from the simple statements of the New Testament to the elaborate declarations of much later times. It describes the changes in the modes and times of celebration and the developments in ideas, the effect of the breaking up of the Roman empire and the irruption of the barbarians in materialising the conception of the Eucharist, the influence of the rise and fall of realism on the same, the course by which the idea of the peace-offering passed over into that of the sin-offering in the Supper, and the way, the almost imperceptible way, in which the "tenet of the objective presence of Christ in the sacred elements slipped into acceptance".

Dr. Barry closes the volume with a paper on "English Christianity To-day". It is in many respects a suitable close. There are more things in it, however, to which we should take exception than in any of the others, and it makes more exclusive, more purely English and Episcopal claims, than any other. These are expressed in considerate terms. But they are there, and they give a somewhat narrower turn to the review. Dr. Barry seems to take less account of English Christianity outside the State Church, and of non-Episcopal Christianity generally. More than once he magnifies the National Church before others as "in reality, as well as in theory, the truest organ of expression of the Christianity of the nation as a whole". He has an easy way of disposing of the present divisions in that Church as things which "do not touch the chief fundamentals of the faith". He tells us that the appeal to Holy Scripture, as the one ultimate standard of faith, is "put forth with a singular clearness and force in the Church of England," and that "probably no Church in Christendom has enunciated it more decisively". appears that to him "the non-Episcopal Christianity of the world" is "after all but a fragment, although a considerable and important fragment". In speaking, however, of the "historic Episcopate" as one point in the basis for a reunion of English Christianity, he prefers no larger claim for the Episcopate than that it is "a great, all but universal fact," and proposes no "insistence on any theory of its origin and its authority".

This volume, as a whole, it will easily be seen, is one of unusual importance. It is a very gratifying witness to the existence in the Church of England of men capable of rising above provincial ideas of the Christian Church, and of guiding English thought to the best and largest issues. It is in the continuance of work such as is seen in it that the hope of the reconciliation of the future largely lies. If men of different schools, all honestly eager about their own, gave attention to these studies and followed out these lines of historical inquiry, there would be a better appreciation of each other, less of the partisan attitude, a more instructed faith, and a larger spirit of unity.

S. D. F. SALMOND.

#### Notices.

In 1893, Professor Rudolf Smend of Göttingen published his Lehrbuch der alttestamentlichen Religion. We are glad to have it now in a second and revised edition.¹ It was reviewed at length in this Journal in its first edition.² Its peculiar merits and distinctive qualities were explained then. In this new issue it retains its original character. It is full of matter, but lacks vivacity. It follows Wellhausen generally. It is apt to take undue liberties with the text when that does not fall in readily with the author's views of the history. It gives great attention to the historical movements which shaped and modified Jewish beliefs, and deals ably with some of the leading Old Testament ideas, especially that of righteousness, in the light of the history. It is a book from which students of all schools will learn much.

St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: A New Translation, with a Brief Analysis. By W. G. Rutherford.<sup>3</sup> This is an acute and able book, in which the Headmaster of Westminster applies all the power of his learning and his discernment to the task of making Paul's great epistle once again what he conceives it originally to have been, viz., "a plain letter concerned with a theme which plain men might understand". He is of opinion that the Revised Version, no less than the Authorised, leaves much in obscurity to the ordinary reader, and that this is largely due to a misunderstanding of idiom, especially in certain late usages of the Greek prepositions, and still more to the mistaken method of translating peculiar Greek idioms word for word into English. He discards all this, therefore, and renders Paul's words into the English of the ordinary reader, not disdaining to stoop when occasion demands to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage. Freiburg i. B: J. C. B. Mohr; London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. ix. + 519. M.11.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Critical Review, vol. iv. Pp. 12 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xix. + 72. Price 3s. 6d. net.

colloquial. We cannot say that Mr. Rutherford is uniformly successful. There is now and again a curious mixture in his phrases, e.g., "If this be so, are we to stick to our sin that the grace may be enhanced?" "Stick to" and "enhanced" belong to two different orders of translation. His rendering, however, is often very happy, and as a whole it does set the argument of this profound epistle in a wonderfully modern and intelligible light. Here and there, too, we get interesting glimpses of his own preferences in interpretation, in passages outside this epistle. Thus he takes the well-known puzzle, "What shall they gain who are baptised for the dead?" (I Cor. xv. 29) to mean, "What shall they gain who are baptised, if their baptism (the suffering involved therein) only brings them death like other men?" How he deals with prepositions may be seen by his rendering of Mark vi. 52, viz., "For they had not understood at the loaves," which he explains as meaning that they had not understood "at the time when the miracle of the loaves was performed". This is as if the evangelist wrote after the method of commercial correspondence or modern telegrams, as Mr. Rutherford himself almost suggests (p. xviii.). The following must suffice as examples of this modernised version of the Authorised Version in the great words of the epistle—"avouched Son of God when by an act of power conditioned by informing holiness he had been raised from the dead" (i. 4); "a righteousness of God consisting in faith in Jesus Christ, intended for all who have faith, and no distinction made" (iii. 22); "what the true objects of prayer are, is just what we do not know, but the Spirit himself entreats for us with unutterable sighs" (viii. 26); "I entreat you, brothers, to prove your sense of God's mercies by presenting your lives as an acceptable sacrifice, a living victim consecrated to God, which for you is become a religious duty sanctioned by reason" (xii. 1).

The Rev. T. B. Strong, B.D., writes on *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*.<sup>1</sup> His object is to explain "the original character of the Eucharist as it appears in Holy Scripture."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiii. + 111. Price 3s.

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He examines, therefore, in succession, the accounts of the institution, the discourses in John vi., and the passages in I Cor. x. 14-21, and Heb. xiii. 10. His interpretation of the "eating" and the "altar" in the last-named passage is not particularly clear, but he claims in it, at least, an indirect allusion to the Eucharist. Nor is he sufficiently definite when he comes to deal with the phrase, "This is My body," and with the question of the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. The phrase "This is My body," is parallel, he thinks, to the other phrase, "I am the light of the world," and means that just as Christ is truly our life, so the elements are truly His body and blood. In the Eucharist there is a gift given "of which," he says, "the true nature is the indwelling of Christ"; the mode of that indwelling is not declared in Scripture, but "faith is the condition of that relation to Christ which makes the gift possible". Thus he concludes that "the gift is objectively real, in the sense that its existence is independent of the mental attitude of any human being; but it is wholly spiritual in its reality, and may be made impossible by spiritual conditions of a vicious kind". In the last chapter there is some quasi-philosophical discussion of the idea of reality, but at last the secret of the vagueness of Mr. Strong's statements appears. It is, as we might expect, in his notion of the Church as a corporate institution with mystic powers. He characterises the Zwinglian doctrine as a "fragment, and not the most considerable fragment, of the truth in Holy Scripture". He confesses the doctrine to be "immeasurably fuller and more comprehensive," which finds the presence in the soul of the receiver, but he is of opinion that it "neglects the vitally important truth that the Church as a body is the agent in consecration, and responsible primarily for its effect." And he goes the length of affirming that "to neglect this is to base religion upon an individualistic view of man, and would end in dispensing with the necessity of Church and Sacraments alike". These are among the vulnerable points in Mr. Strong's statement. But we have also not a little that is well put, and the subject as a whole is handled with the reverence that befits it.

Under the title of: Studies Historical, Doctrinal and Biographical, Dr. John M'Ewan, of Knox's Free Church, Edinburgh, publishes a series of papers delivered from time to time in the course of a long, laborious and faithful ministry. They include studies of John Knox, Oliver Cromwell, John Wiclif, Thomas Boston, James Begg, John Kennedy and Samuel Rutherford, and discussions of such subjects as the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, Romanism in the Province of Quebec, Scottish Episcopacy, the Marrow Controversy, etc. They are very useful papers, all marked by good sense, strong attachment to the Protestant faith and evangelical doctrine, and a kindly spirit. They deserve to be read far beyond the circle of the writer's own congregation or church. An appreciative sketch of the author, from the pen of Mr. Oliphant Smeaton, adds to the interest of the volume.

Dr. John Brown of Bedford publishes, under the title of Puritan Preaching in England,2 the course of lectures which he delivered in Yale University last year on the Lyman Beecher foundation. He describes his book as a "Study of Past and Present," and so he goes far back for his beginnings. He gives first a sketch of the "Preaching of the Friars," and then a chapter on "John Colet and the Preachers of the Reformation". He comes then to the "Cambridge Puritans," Chaderton, Culverwell, Perkins, Henry Smith and Thomas Adamsa very interesting chapter. Thomas Goodwin and the Cambridge Platonists are next brought under review, and these are followed by Bunyan and Richard Baxter. On these two we see Dr. Brown at his best. The book concludes with a couple of chapters on representative Puritan preachers of recent times-Thomas Binney, Spurgeon, Dale and Maclaren. who are appreciatively handled. The book is quite popular in its style; it does not introduce us to the deepest things in Puritanism and its characteristic preaching, nor does it furnish anything like complete and finished estimates of the men. But what it attempts is done in an earnest and wellinstructed way, which helps us to understand and value a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 353.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 299. Price 6s.

remarkable succession of men with a style of preaching that is often misjudged and miscalled.

In addition to a large number of careful criticisms of books. the July number of The American Journal of Theology contains four articles of some length. Professor Henry C. Vedder, of Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., contributes a valuable paper on the "Origin and Early Teaching of the Waldenses, according to the Roman Catholic writers of the Thirteenth Century," and Professor Krüger of Giessen, writes on the familiar subject of "David Friedrich Strauss". Professor I. Rendel Harris of Cambridge deals with the question -" Did Judas really commit suicide?" The occasion for the inquiry is furnished by the publication of the almost forgotten story of Ahikar, the Grand Vizier of Sennacherib, and the treachery of his nephew Nadan. Professor Harris thinks it extremely probable that the story of the death of Judas is an imitation of that of Nadan, and that the growth of the traditional account of the end of the betrayer of our Lord took this course: (a) legendary death of Nadan; (b) legendary death of Judas, expressed in the very same terms; (c) substitution of a simple suicide by Matthew; (d) traditional death as modified in current texts of the Acts; and (e) Rationalist interpretation of Papias. The article has some acute reasonings, and others that are far from convincing. Professor Alvah Hovey is the author of a paper on "Stapfer on the Resurrection of Jesus Christ," which deserves to be read for its careful and pertinent criticism.

We notice also Evangelical Belief, by John Broadhurst Nichols, an essay that won a prize of £100 offered in 1898 by the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, a very creditable piece of work, setting forth the power of Romanism and the justification of Protestantism, and giving telling, popular statements of the evangelical doctrine on the Rule of Faith, private judgment, the unity, catholicity and authority of the Church, the Christian ministry and worship, the Sacraments, justification by faith, etc.; Studies in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: The Religious Tract Society, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 368.

the Character of Christ,1 the title given to a small volume by Charles Henry Robinson, Canon Missioner of Ripon, in which the character of our Lord is set forth in a plain and popular way as the final argument for Christianity, generally in terms which are both correct and easily understood, but sometimes (as when Christ is spoken of as "incarnate in the Church") in language that is inexact; a volume of pointed and eloquent Sermons on Texts from the Gospels: Evangelienpredigten, prepared for the Church-Year by Dr. Wilhelm Bahnsen, General-Superintendent in Coburg; a third issue of Dr. G. L. Plitt's excellent edition of Melanchthon's Loci Communes 3 in their original form, carefully supervised and furnished with brief, useful explanations by Professor Th. Kolde of Erlangen; Adjumenta Oratoris Sacri, opera Francisci Xaverii Schouppe 4-a very useful digest of matter relating to pulpit discourse, dealing with the principles of sacred oratory, the meaning of the great Christian truths and offices, and the methods of preaching-a book now marked Editio xiv.; a reliable and readable translation by F. M. Young of Bangalore, of Geiger's Judaism and Islám,5 a treatise on the relation of Mohammedanism to Judaism, the ideas and the stories which have passed over from the Jewish books into the Ouran, etc.; a second edition of The Best Society, and other Lectures,6 by J. Jackson Goadby, F.G.S., a volume containing some vigorous, popular sketches of Thomas Fuller, Cromwell, John Howard, Sydney Smith, Mrs. Lucy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 129. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evangelienpredigten für alle Sonn-und Festtage des Kirchenjahres, ii. 1. Pfingsttag bis zum letzten Trinitätssonntag. Berlin: Duncker, 1899. 8vo, pp. 363.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Die Loci Communes, Philipp Melanchthon's in ihrer Urgestalt nach G. L. Plitt in dritter Auflage von Neuem herausgegeben und erlaütert. Von Dr. Th. Kolde. Leipzig: Deichert; London: Williams & Norgate, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. x. + 267. Price M.3.50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bruxelles: Société Belge de Librairie, 1899. 8vo, pp. 600.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> A Prize Essay by Abraham Geiger, Rabbi at Wiesbaden. Madras: At the M. D. C. S. P. K. Press. 8vo, pp. 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> London: Elliot Stock. 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 277.

Hutchinson, etc.; Words of Exhortation, a collection of sermons by the Rev. W. C. E. Newbolt, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral, High Anglican in doctrine, but discoursing in a telling style, with much fervour and with pointed application to the circumstances of ordinary hearers, on such subjects as Controversy, The Profanation of the Temple, The Use of Talents, The Contagion of Sin. etc.; a delightful little book by the Rev. John Brownlie, entitled Hymns of the Greek Church,2 most tasteful in form and furnishing admirable translations (with explanatory notes) of many of the choicest examples of ancient Eastern hymnody; The Rise of the New Testament,3 by David Saville Muzzey, B.D., a small and rather high-priced book, giving a brief account of the formation of the New Testament writings, generally under the influence of Harnack, reliable enough on the whole, but indulging here and there in some rather tall talk; The Holy Spirit and Christian Service,4 by the Rev. J. D. Robertson, M.A., D.Sc., North Berwick, an enlargement of a series of lectures addressed to students of the Christian Workers' Training Institute, under the auspices of the Edinburgh Presbytery of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland—excellent lectures, simple and direct in style, expounding important truths which lie close to everyday Christian experience, and cast in a form well suited to the audiences for which they were prepared; Das Problem Friedrich Nietzsche's,5 by Eduard Grunin, a careful study of Nietzsche's peculiar position and philosophy, his place as a thinker, his relation to Ethics and Religion, etc., deserving the attention of those interested in the man; a translation by Sir William Muir of an earnest and interesting Arabic treatise, The Torch of Guidance to the Mystery of Redemption,6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Longmans, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xiv. + 350. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 110. Price 2s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> New York: The Macmillan Company, pp. xii. + 146. Price 5s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 288. Price 5s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Berlin: Schwezke u. Sohn, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 264. M.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 52. Price 4d.

written by a native Christian of the East; Oliver Cromwell, a noble eulogy and appreciation, far-seeing and splendidly expressed, by the Earl of Rosebery; The Coming Bible,2 by Thomas Parker, a curious and mistaken attempt to limit Christian Scripture to the four Gospels; Church Questions,3 by Gilbert Karney, Vicar of St. John's Church, Paddington unambitious but clear and well put statements on the Real Presence and related subjects, giving the historical argument in favour of Hooker's teaching as the authentic doctrine of the Church of England on the subject of the Sacraments etc.; a third and thoroughly revised edition of Professor E. Chr. Achelis's Praktische Theologie,4 a very useful treatise which deserves the acceptance it has won; a second revised and enlarged edition of the third volume of the late Professor Wilhelm Möller's Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte, issued under the supervision of Professor Gustav Kawerau of Breslau, a handbook of great merit, dealing in the present volume in a most scholarly and informing way with the story of the Reformation and the Counter-reformation, a book which every student should have beside him: Schepping en Voorzienigheid, by J. Weener, an acute and meritorious contribution to the discussion of the theistic question.

Dr. Washington Gladden of Columbus, Ohio, has written with a good purpose on the question—How Much is Left of the Old Doctrines? This work is meant to be a "book for the people," and from that point of view as well as in other respects it is a very successful performance. It is written with much vivacity, and in terms so clear and pointed that no one can mistake its drift. Dr. Gladden has the gift of a popular American style, and he makes excellent use of it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Andrew Melrose. Small cr. 8vo, pp. 35. Price 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Swan Sonnenschein, pp. 82. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> London: Elliot Stock, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Freiburg i. B.: J. C. B. Mohr; 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 308. Price M. 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Freiburg i. B: J. C. B. Mohr; London: Williams & Norgate, 1899. 8vo, pp. xv. + 46o. Price M.10.

<sup>6</sup> Utrecht: Huffel, 1899. 8vo, pp. 144.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> London: James Clarke & Co. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. iv.+321. Price 4s.

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here. Looking at the changes which have been taking place in the beliefs and opinions of men under the influence of new scientific conceptions and new methods of historical inquiry and criticism, he thinks the time has come when Christian men must "take an inventory" of their beliefs and ascertain where precisely they stand in relation to old doctrines or to familiar forms of expressing these doctrines. He turns our attention, therefore, to the great questions of belief in God, the supernatural, the doctrines of Creation, the Trinity, the Incarnation, Predestination, etc., the function of the Bible, the meaning of the Sacraments, the hope of immortality, etc., and asks us to consider to what effect the old views on these subjects have been modified by the recent course of thought, and in what way the terms of the old affirmations require to be revised. This is done on the footing of considerable knowledge of things, with a true appreciation of the old dogmas and the old words, and in a candid and reverent spirit. There are points in Dr. Gladden's review at which he is less satisfactory than at others. makes too little of the teaching of the New Testament on the subject of a personal tempter. There is some vagueness in what he says of the Trinity, although he finds, in the fundamental laws of mind, a "suggestion of that three-foldness which men are trying to comprehend when they attempt to state the doctrine of the Trinity". The doctrine of the Atonement is handled in a way that does imperfect justice to the history of Christian thought on the subject as well as to the definite teaching of the New Testament, and the declaration of the Divine wrath is made to mean simply a change in our feeling. But the general effect is good. The broad result is reassuring. The spiritual things which have been expressed in the declarations of the great creeds and the ancient Christian doctrines are shown to remain what and where they were. The form changes, but the substance persists and justifies itself. The discussions on the existence and nature of God, the ideas of creation and the supernatural in relation to the evolutionary hypothesis, and the doctrine of the future life, are among the best things in the book. There is much in it that should help and relieve minds in difficulty.

The venerable Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr. George Salmon, publishes a new volume of discourses— Cathedral and University Sermons. They are strong, sober. instructive discourses, as one might expect, well thought out and carrying pointed application. One that will attract notice deals with the historic claims of episcopacy (from the text 2 Tim. ii. 2). It argues for the existence of the three-fold ministry in apostolic times negatively from the absence of any indication of the survival of any other primitive form. and positively from the presidency of James in the Church of Jerusalem. But Dr. Salmon observes that the Prayerbook does not make Episcopacy "so essential that without it the being of a Church is impossible," and he tells us he does not feel himself "called on to go beyond what the Church has asserted". Other discourses have "Colour-blindness," "Righteous Hatred," "Trials and Temptations," etc., as their subjects. They make informing and edifying reading.

We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. Charles H. H. Wright. of Trinity College, Dublin, for a considerable treatise on The Intermediate State and Prayers for the Dead.2 The Old Testament teaching is disposed of in thirteen pages. This is quite inadequate even for the author's declared purpose. attention is given to the witness of the non-canonical literature, pre-Christian and early post-Christian. are separate chapters on "Jewish Usages in distinctly Post-Christian Days," and on "Paradise and Gehenna". These are by no means exhaustive of their subjects, but they contain much good matter. Then come two chapters which deal at some length with the passages in the New Testament which are imagined to favour the practice of praying for the dead, and with the question of prayers for the departed in the early Christian ages. The rest of the volume is devoted to the representation of the Intermediate State in the Apocry-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: John Murray, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 253. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>2</sup> London: Jas. Nisbet & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 326. Price 6s.

phal writings, the descriptions of hell in the Patristic writings and of hell and purgatory in the Roman Catholic Church, the "test of Catholicity," and the teaching of the Church of England.

The real subject of the book is Prayers for the Dead, and it would have been better to have given that alone as the There are whole regions of the doctrine of the Intermediate State on which much has been written, both in English and in German theology, that are not touched in this volume. Even what is said of it here in connexion with the main subject is far short of what it should be. But apart from that the proper theme of the book is ably and learnedly handled. Dr. Wright deals effectively with the argument in behalf of the practice of prayer for the dead which is drawn from ancient Jewish custom. He disposes of the testimony of the second book of Maccabees, which stands solitary and indistinct. He examines at some length the apocryphal and pseudonymous books, some twenty-five of them, which are in any sense relevant to his subject. He makes a just and seasonable protest against the practice, too common with a certain class of writers, of producing some early utterance of the Reformers (as in the case, e.g., of Latimer) without regard to their later and maturer judgment. He closes with a statement, valuable so far as it goes, but much too brief, on the position of the Church of England in relation to the subject. The book establishes a good case against prayer for the dead, as a practice neither sanctioned by Scripture nor approved by the Reformed Church of England.

Professor G. Buchanan Gray has been well advised in printing the address which he delivered before the Congregational Union of England and Wales and the three lectures given at the meetings of the Friends' Summer School of Theology at Birmingham. The volume bears the title of *The Divine Discipline of Israel*, which was the subject of the address. The lectures deal with the "Growth of Moral

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. vi. + 128. Price 2s. 6d. net.

Ideas in the Old Testament". The book is a small one, but one of real value. Its object is to give a historical view of some of the great ideas of the Old Testament on the basis of the most accepted results of literary criticism. The growth of the monotheistic doctrine is first sketched, and the author then takes up certain of the moral ideas of the Hebrews with the view of showing "the course of conduct which appeared to them best, the motives with which they pursued it, and the changes through which both ideas and practice passed in the course of history". The reader will find much that is of value, briefly and clearly put, on the great ideas of holiness and righteousness, and many just remarks on the slowness, in many respects the happy slowness, with which new ideas obtain their effect, and on other laws of historical development. The volume is a very informing one.

Professor Handley C. G. Moule has completed his series of studies on the epistles of the first Roman imprisonment of St. Paul by publishing his *Ephesian Studies*.¹ They are in the form of expository readings on the Epistle to the Ephesians, and look specially to the ends of "edification, exhortation and comfort". But he proceeds on the basis of a careful and scholarly exegesis. There is a brief introduction, pleasantly and popularly written, each verse is interpreted and applied, and at the close of each section we have a series of practical paragraphs. All is done well. A deep and earnest piety makes itself felt in every page. The teaching of the "Celestial Letter" on the counsel and grace of God is expounded with a profound sense of its reality and its greatness.

Pro Christo et Ecclesia<sup>2</sup> is an anonymous treatise which lies out of the ordinary beat of religious books. It is written in a beautifully clear and simple style. Yet at various points its drift is difficult to follow. Its whole tone is reverent and devout; it is full of suggestive ideas; and it cannot be read without profit. There is at the same time in it a good deal that is either paradoxical or out of proportion, so that it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 240. Price 5s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Macmillan, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 189. Price 4s. 6d. net.

leaves one uncertain what its real scope is. It is a restatement of the ideal of life presented by Christ, constructed on the principle that "the life-long contest between the pious Pharisee and Jesus is the most salient point in the drama of the Christ," and that "God's fullest teaching to man must therefore be found in the struggle". It says much that is just and true of love as the essence of the ideal life. and of the Gospel as, on the divine side, the humility of love eager to lead the repentant sinner; while on the human side it implies the life of humble prayer. But it speaks of obedience in terms almost of disparagement—in terms at least which need qualification if they are not to mislead; and it is only very partially correct in its indications of the character and the attitude in which we are to see the modern equivalent to the Pharisaism that formed the subject of Christ's constant warnings. The tendencies in the Church of the present day which, in the writer's opinion, work most evil and best prove the need for Christ's ideal, are these: the estrangement of saints from the frivolous and vicious, the estrangement of religion from undidactic art in the drama, the novel, the song, the dance, the limitation of God's Spirit by making rites and doctrines tests of spiritual life, the attack upon private and social vices in the name of Christ, and the conviction that pain is more salutary than pleasure. On all these something is said that will occasion reflection. But if they are evils, they are not all of one measure, and the attitude to them which is suggested here might lead us often into doubtful positions. The writer fails to see that what our Lord had in view in His warnings against Pharisee and Sadducee was a certain spirit, and that this spirit may be more active now in other classes of men and other phenomena of the Church than those in which He rebuked it then.

A very good book on the Destination, Date and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews 1 comes from the pen of Mr. H. H. B. Ayles, B.D. It is an acute argument in favour of the view that the epistle belongs to about A.D. 64, is the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1899. Cr. 8vo, pp. vii. + 174. Price 5s.

work of Barnabas, and is addressed to the Church of Jerusalem. The internal evidence in favour of Barnabas as writer is worked out very fully and with much skill. A very fair and pretty complete account is also given of the fortunes of the epistle both in the Eastern Church and in the Western, and a separate chapter is devoted to the tradition of the Alexandrian Church. All this is done in good style, the objections usually urged against this solution of the problems of the letter being also candidly stated and con-The strength of the discussion is given to the question of authorship. Mr. Ayles makes the best use of the early and widespread tradition in favour of Barnabas, and sets over against it the fact that there is no early tradition in favour either of Paul himself or of any other, except Clement of Rome (in the tradition of the Eastern Church). And in putting the internal argument in behalf of Barnabas, he endeavours to convince us that "the variety and the apparently contradictory character of the evidence which the epistle furnishes as to it author" are best explained on the theory that Barnabas is the writer. The book well repays the reader.

In the last issue of Mind Dr. C. S. Myers concludes his historical and critical review of "Vitalism". Dr. G. E. Moore contributes an elaborate paper on "Necessity," with the particular object of determining its meaning. The question, as he puts it, is of "that necessity which is involved in the notion of causality". What does that necessity mean? His answer is simply this—that he fails to see "that there can be any relation between the two things, except that from the proposition 'The one exists' there is a valid inference to the proposition 'The other existed' or 'will exist'. If it does really follow that, since one thing exists, another has existed or will exist, what more necessary relation can be desired?" Among the other articles we may refer to Mr. Henry Sturt's criticism of "The Doctrine of the Summum Bonum". Such conceptions as Summum Bonum, self-realisation, and goodnessas-health-and-beauty, he holds, are pagan conceptions, while conscience, duty, self-sacrifice and devotion are Christian conceptions. This, he says, is a "distinction which cannot conveniently be indicated in any other way". For "there is no term but 'Christian' to express the general spirit of modern morality, the outcome of the centuries of moral experience and experiment which divide us from Hellenic civilisation". And he declares it to be the fault of modern eudæmonism that "it reverses their relative positions," making the pagan conceptions primary which modern experience has recognised to be secondary.

The *Presbyterian Record*, published in Toronto, continues to be conducted with much ability. The Assembly number contains, besides an abundance of church intelligence, several short and readable papers, e.g., one by Professor Ballantyne of Knox College on "The Value of the Study of Church History".

The most learned paper in the current number of The Journal of Theological Studies is Mr. C. H. Turner's second article on "The Early Episcopal Lists". It deals with the Jerusalem list, the fourth of Eusebius's lists, and after an elaborate examination comes to the conclusion that "we cannot adduce the succession at Jerusalem as a continuous witness to primitive episcopacy". Canon Sanday contributes an interesting paper on "St. Paul's Equivalent for the 'Kingdom of Heaven,'" the object of which is to show that the Pauline idea of the "righteousness of God" expresses the "central and cardinal point of the Christian dispensation," which appears in the Gospels as "the Kingdom of heaven". Professor A. A. Macdonell's exposition of the "Ancient Indian Conception of the Soul and its Future State" is a notable contribution to an important and difficult question. A paper on the "Death of St. John the Baptist," from the Russian of Professor Sollertinsky, also deserves notice. It has some doubtful things, e.g., its statement on the reading  $\eta\pi\delta\rho\epsilon\iota$  in Mark vi. 20; but it puts a strong case for preferring the gospel narrative of the beheading of John to that in Josephus which makes Herod alone responsible. There are some good notes, too, by various hands, on  $\pi \lambda \eta \rho \eta s$  in John i. 14, on Isaiah xix. 18, on the Wisdom of Ben Sira, on Isaiah xxi. I-10, etc.

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# Old Testament and Cognate Articles.

A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology. Edited by James Hastings, M.A., D.D., with the assistance of John A. Selbie, M.A., and, chiefly in the Revision of the Proofs, of A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh, R. S. Driver, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford, H. B. Swete, D.D., Litt.D., Regius Professor of Divinity, Cambridge. Vol. III. Kir-Pleiades. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. 4to, pp. xv. + 895. Price 28s.

# Articles on Old Testament and Cognate Subjects.

THESE articles may be roughly classified under the heads of Introduction, Biography, Geography, Archæology, Theology and General.

First as to Introduction. In a very careful account of LAMENTATIONS, the Rev. J. A. Selbie concludes, with most modern scholars, that the book is not by Jeremiah. regards it as a composite work, but considers that the number of authors and the dates of the various portions are still open questions. In Leviticus and Numbers the Rev. G. Harford-Battersby, one of the editors of the Oxford Hexateuch, gives an exceedingly thorough account of the analysis. An important feature is the recognition that, in addition to the Law of Holiness, large sections of the Priestly Code are reproduced from earlier codes compiled during or before the In a scholarly article on NAHUM, Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy accepts the view that Nah. i. is made up of fragments of a post-exilic acrostic psalm, and that only chaps. ii., iii. are the actual work of Nahum. Those he dates B.C. 608-7, on the eve of the fall of Nineveh in B.C. 606. We notice, by the

way, that B.C. 607-6 is adopted as the date of this event in NINEVEH and other articles. Since circa 606 is also given in Assyria in the Encyclopadia Biblica, we may regard this point as settled—at any rate for the present. Prof. Nowack in a brief article on MICAH rejects most of chaps. iv.-vii. In an English dictionary something more than a reference might have been accorded to Prof. G. A. Smith's careful discussion of these chapters. The Rev. J. A. Selbie regards OBADIAH as a composite work; verses 1-9 or 10 are preexilic. and based upon an older work, which was also used by Jeremiah in Jer. xlix.; verses 11-21 are dated B.C. 432 or later. The subject is treated very fully. MALACHI, by the Rev. A. C. Welch, almost amounts to an exposition of the book. The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal books belonging to this volume receive adequate treatment, especially the BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES, which are dealt with by the Rev. W. Fairweather, the author of a work on the period from the Exile to the Christian Era in the series of Handbooks published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark.

In Biography, Mr. Fairweather naturally writes on the Maccabees, of whom he gives a full, concise and lucid account. Under this head we may mention, amongst other excellent articles, Kohath, etc., by the Rev. W. C. Allen; Korah, etc., by the Rev. J. A. Selbie; Lot, etc., by Prof. Driver; Levi, by the Rev. G. A. Cooke; Manasseh, by Prof. A. S. Peake; Menahem, by Dr. J. Taylor; Micah, by Prof. R. W. Moss; Nahash, etc., by the Rev. N. J. White; Necho, by Mr. W. E. Crum; Nehemiah, by Prof. L. W. Batten; Og, etc., by Rev. H. A. Redpath; Pekahiah, by Prof. W. B. Stevenson; and Pharaoh, by Mr. F. Ll. Griffith.

In the Dictionary generally, and especially in this class of articles, an important feature is the application of the analysis and historical criticism of the Old Testament. Different methods are followed in different articles. Some, e.g., Phine-has and Naphtali, ignore both analysis and criticism, and reproduce the statements of the Old Testament as all equally certain and accurate, without indicating that they come from sources of different value. Others, like Lot, tell the Bible

story, point out that some statements, e.g., the birth of Moab and Ammon, refer to events in tribal history; and that others, e.g., the turning of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt, are unhistorical; and add some general statement as that "tribal relations and characteristics are, to a certain degree, reflected in him [Lot]". But there is a very wide acceptance of the view that many of the early narratives, though given in the form of the history of individuals, are really accounts of tribes; and in most of the articles, e.g., Levi and Nadab, full use is made of analysis and criticism. In Manasseh considerable doubt is thrown on the chronicler's account of the king's repentance. In his brief article on Nebuchad-Rezzar, Prof. Sayce ignores the Book of Daniel.

In this and other departments, articles admitting of illustration from Assyriology have been entrusted to experts in that subject, e.g., Prof. Sayce, Melchisedek, etc.; Mr. T. G. Pinches, Nimrod; Principal Whitehouse, Omri, etc. In spite of the little acceptance which the view has met with from other Assyriologists, Prof. Sayce still clings to the opinion that the language in which the King of Jerusalem speaks of himself in the Tel-el-Amarna tablets illustrates the description of Melchisedek in Gen. xiv. Mr. Pinches is inclined to identify Nimrod with the Babylonian God Merodach.

For articles on Geography, Dr. Hastings has been fortunate enough to enlist the services of several experts who have taken a leading part in the exploration of Palestine. They have been allowed adequate space, and have evidently spent much time and labour on their contributions, which are mines of accurate and lucid information. Col. Conder writes on PALESTINE; Dr. F. J. Bliss on LACHISH (his special subject), etc.; Sir Chas. Warren on MACHPELAH and the MOUNT OF OLIVES; and Sir C. W. Wilson on MEGIDDOwhich he identifies with Tel-el-Mutasellim, close to Lejjun, the Roman Legio, and not, as Conder, with Mujedda near Bethshean. Rev. W. Ewing, formerly of Tiberias, writes on the WATERS OF MEROM, and is inclined to accept the traditional identification with Baheiret-el-Huleh. Prof. Driver favours the view that for "land of MORIAH" in Gen. xxii. 2,

we should read "land of the Amorites". Prof. Sayce deals with Nineveh, the Medes, and—in very meagre fashion—with Persia and the Persians. Rev. A. T. Chapman contributes a careful article on Midian, in which, however, we miss any adequate treatment of the religion of the Midianites and its relation to that of Israel. Prof. W. J. Beecher (Auburn, N. Y.) gives a very full account of the Philistines, in which, however, too little use is made of the criticism of the Old Testament. Prof. Ira M. Price (Chicago) writes on Ophir, etc. The position of Ophir "is still in dispute," various theories are discussed, and the article favours south-eastern Arabia. Rev. A. C. Welch deals with Perizzites, etc.; Prof. W. Max Müller with Memphis; and the Rev. G. W. Thatcher gives a very full account of Phænicia.

Passing to articles on Archaology, the work here too is almost uniformly, as far as we have noticed, thorough and scholarly, e.g., Dr. Eaton on Nazirites; Prof. W. P. Paterson on MARRIAGE; Prof. W. J. Moulton on the PASSOVER. In MEDICINE and articles on cognate subjects, and in Music respectively, Prof. Alex. Macalister and the Rev. Jas. Millar place their technical knowledge as experts in those subjects at the disposal of Bible students. From MEDICINE it seems that Timothy probably suffered from "flatulent atonic dyspepsia, whose most urgent symptoms are temporarily relieved by alcohol. This disease seemed to have produced in him a disposition to slackness, concerning which St. Paul repeatedly warns him. In such cases, however, while alcohol allays the morbid functional sensibility. it does not really remove the cause of the disease." The average reader, however, must not suppose that the whole article is as simple and interesting as this paragraph; in many cases it will be necessary to consult the family doctor in order to learn the meaning of a sentence. Principal Whitehouse's Magic is profusely illustrated by information from Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian and Rabbinic sources, and gives a vivid picture of the important part played by magic in the life of the Israelites and their neighbours.

Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy's Money is an important contribution to the literature of the subject. He has collected copious evidence from manifold sources: from the Amarna tablets Amongst other conclusions, he maintains that the so-called Maccabaean shekels are really coins of the Jewish revolts; though there are genuine bronze coins of the Maccabees. In a short concluding paragraph Prof. Kennedy deals with the most important branch of the subject—"The purchasing power of money in Bible times". He has collected a number of interesting facts, but has evidently been straitened by limitation of space. We could wish that he had been able to deal with the subject more fully. Could he be induced to give an article on PRICES in the next volume? The article is illustrated by plates of twenty-one coins. Prof. G. Buchanan Gray deals with a subject in which he is a specialist-in NAMES and PROPER NAMES. In the latter he gives a sketch of the different classes of names, into which he introduces, in a marvellously small compass, much of the information and many of the results of his remarkable book on Hebrew Proper Names, e.g., the conclusion, based on an exhaustive examination of the various lists, that the names characteristic of Chronicles and the Priestly Code are mostly of post-exilic origin. The LANGUAGE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT is dealt with by Prof. D. S. Margoliouth in an article as lucid and interesting as it is learned. He regards Hebrew as mainly a branch of Arabic with a large Assyrian element. We note that it is said that there are cogent reasons for assigning Deuteronomy to the period of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and that there is probably no verse in the Old Testament "earlier than 1100 or later than B.C. 100," a statement which implies that no portion of the Pentateuch was written by Moses. The same scholar also writes on the Language of the Apocrypha; but readers must be warned that his idea that the Wisdom of Solomon is a translation from the Hebrew is a mere eccentricity of criticism, in which he stands almost alone. Such an opinion affords an estimate of another theory of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth, also given in this article, viz., that the recentlydiscovered fragments of the Hebrew *Ecclesiasticus* are portions, not of the original Hebrew, but of a retranslation of Syriac and Persian versions into Hebrew, a theory that meets with little acceptance.

In NATURAL HISTORY, LILY, LOCUST, etc., Prof. G. E.

Post of Beyrout deals with Fauna and Flora.

In Theology, the Rev. G. Currie Martin contributes a careful article on LIFE AND DEATH. Prof. W. F. Adeney treats Man, MEDIATION, etc., with a critical appreciation of Old Testament data, and adequate illustration from non-Israelite religions. In MESSIAH Prof. V. H. Stanton gives a clear and sound statement as to the Old Testament and Apocryphal passages bearing on the subject. He holds that in the Old Testament passages on the sufferings of the righteous and the "one pre-eminent vicarious sufferer," "there does not seem to have been any clear reference to the Messiah and His atoning work in the thought of the writers". In extracanonical pre-Christian literature, "there is no trace of the idea that the Messiah would undergo suffering. . . . And the evidence supplied by the Gospels seems to show conclusively that no such belief existed among the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry". In Dr. J. H. Bernard's MIRACLES, those of the Old Testament are naturally regarded as mainly dependent for verification on the relation between the Old Testament and the New. Hence there is little discussion of details. conclusion runs: "On the whole, then, while we maintain that the history of the Jews cannot be truly interpreted unless the special intervention of Providence in many a crisis of their national life be discerned, and while we distinctly recognise the miraculous nature of the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament, and are not slow to accept the allegation that miracles may have accompanied their progress, we cannot think that the evidence for several recorded miracles, such as Elisha making the axe-head to swim, the speaking of Balaam's ass, and the staying of the sun and moon at Gibeon, is at all sufficient to compel implicit credence in their literal truth.". Elsewhere he writes, "The song of the Book of Jashar, which speaks of the sun standing still at

Gibeon, can hardly be taken as a scientific statement of fact; it is poetry, not prose. . . . The story of Balaam's ass speaking has been referred to its parallels; and the episode of Jonah and the whale seems to be of a similar class. In the latter case, it has been urged, indeed, that our Lord's application of the story forecloses all inquiry into its literal truth. But this is not the judgment of the most careful and devout scholars of our own time." The general argument of this article lies outside the special province of the present writer, but he may venture to say that Dr. Bernard does not seem to surmount the initial difficulty of finding an intelligible scientific definition corresponding to the popular idea of a miracle. Prof. Salmond's Paradise is a most interesting collection of lore from the Bible, Apocrypha, Pagan and Patristic sources.

Passing to general articles, Prof. E. L. Curtis of Yale, in OLD TESTAMENT, gives an able sketch of its origin and growth, its preservation, transmission and interpretation in the Jewish and Christian Churches, and adds a paragraph on its permanent religious value. We may quote one or two sentences: "The conception of the Old Testament history has also been revolutionised. Until the period of modern criticism, the narratives of the Old Testament had generally been received as records of real history. But according to the new view they contain myths and legends, and" [we presume, if read as literal history | "give a partially erroneous conception of the growth of Israel's religion. . . . The Old Testament thus can no longer be regarded as an infallible or, indeed, entirely trustworthy guide in science and history." The permanent elements of the Old Testament are its teaching on the Personality, power and character of God; on man's experience of his relation to God; and on the hope of redemption." "Modern criticism has not impaired these permanent elements. Their authority, which is that of truth, still remains, and the Old Testament has been transmuted from a mechanical record of doctrines and of forced Divine manifestations into a book of genuine historic life, an epic of salvation. showing the living process of God's revelation through Israel."

The OLD TESTAMENT CANON is written by the Rev. F. H. Woods, better known in connexion with the New Testament. but the author of an interesting work on The Hope of Israel. He holds that the Rabbinical Old Testament Canon, which has been adopted by the Protestant Churches, was formally fixed at the Council of Jamnia, A.D. 90; the canonicity of Ezekiel and Proverbs, Ruth, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, and perhaps Jonah, having been matter of controversy amongst the Jews during the first century A.D., and in some cases even later. Mr. Woods does not seem to think that the Greek-speaking Jews ever regarded the Apocrypha as really canonical—a Protestant view of the subject that requires more adequate proof than is usually given. It is disappointing to find that, in an article so generally satisfactory, there is no information as to the more recent history and present state of the Canon in the Greek and other Eastern Churches.

Dr. H. A. A. Kennedy contributes a most important article on the OLD LATIN VERSIONS, evidently the fruit of much careful research in a field where there is still a good deal of obscurity and uncertainty. On the question whether the existing MSS. depend ultimately on a single version, he writes, "As the total result of numerous comparisons of the various texts with each other, one is bound to admit, at least, the increasing probability of the conclusion that at the basis of all the types of text there is one original version which has determined, in great measure, the character of all subsequent revisions." Dr. Kennedy is inclined to accept Sanday's theory that this original version was made in Palestine, by or for some one in the suite of the Roman governor about the middle of the second century. We should have liked to have had an express statement of Dr. Kennedy's views on the existence, now or at any time, of pre-Christian or other early Jewish Latin versions of the Old Testament; and on the Canon of the original Old Latin version. An index and more headings to subdivision would have been a great comfort to the general reader—to say nothing of reviewers.

We should like to say a word or two as to Dr. Hastings' articles on the vocabulary of the Authorised Version. Like

many others, the present writer was at first inclined to grudge the space given to this material, but some little experience in the use of the Dictionary has shown him that these articles will constantly supply teachers and preachers with information interesting both to themselves and those whom they may address. Probably for another generation or so, the Authorised Version will be practically the English Bible, and everything is valuable which helps to familiarise readers with its true interpretation and history. A careful study of this department of Dr. Hastings' work will show that the mistaken ideas derived from the Authorised Version are often due not to mistaken translation from the Hebrew or Greek originals, but to misunderstanding of the English.

The shorter articles are, for the most part, exceedingly good. Many of them are signed by distinguished scholars, whose names are a guarantee of thoroughness and accuracy. Taken together, they represent an immense amount of labour, which will have to be largely its own reward.

The Old Testament articles of this volume fully maintain the high standard of previous volumes. Others besides those referred to might have been noticed, had time and space permitted; but the present writer found the volume unduly fascinating, and was seduced into a too extensive perusal of its contents. Had he read less of the Dictionary, he might have written about more articles.

W. H. BENNETT.

# Articles on New Testament and Cognate Subjects.

It may be said without exaggeration that the third volume of Dr. Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible is quite worthy of the high standard fixed for it by its predecessors. An excellent average quality of work is manifested throughout. This is noteworthy in the case of the shorter articles.

In dealing with the New Testament side of the volume, one article in particular reminds us of the memorable contributions made to the *Dictionary* by Dr. Sanday and Mr. C. H. Turner in their articles on "Jesus Christ," and "Chrono-

logy of New Testament," respectively. We refer to that on "Paul the Apostle" by Professor Findlay. He has already proved himself one of the most competent exponents of Paulinism that we have, but it is doubtful whether anything he has done surpasses this study. There is here breadth of treatment combined with a grasp of details, inherent sympathy with the Apostle's thought and experience enlarged by a genuine insight into the historical environment of his whole career. The article, which occupies about thirty-four pages, devotes one section to the life and work of St. Paul, and a second to his doctrine. Within our space only a point here and there can be noted. The discussion of Paul's idiosyncrasy is very suggestive, analysing as it does his particular temperament, the result of a "nervous organism finely strung and quivering with sensibility". How many questions of exegesis depend upon the recognition of this fact; how often this alone affords an adequate clue to a situation! Professor Findlay holds, as against Holsten and others, that, up to the very moment of his meeting with Christ, "Saul was breathing threatening and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord". There was indeed an inward preparation for his conversion. But this was not any suspicion that the followers of Jesus were in the right. He was "kicking against a goad which wounded his soul". That soul "had been pierced and lacerated by his sense of moral impotence in face of the Law". Thus a very full meaning is given to the words πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, and, judging by the data of the Epistles, with good reason. Naturally many matters of controversy have to be dealt with. There are some convincing arguments against Ramsay's identification of Paul's visit to Jerusalem as related in Galatians ii. with that of Acts xi., xii. Professor Findlay holds that Paul found a large part of his material for the image of the "man of lawlessness" in 2 Thessalonians in the "contemporary deification of the Cæsars". His great struggle with the Iudaisers is tersely and aptly summed up as "a rehearsal of the internal conflict that issued in the conversion of Saul the Pharisee and his call to the apostleship of the Gentiles."

A very full outline of Pauline theology is attempted in the second section of the article in which all the characteristic doctrines find a place. But the result is that some have to be treated very meagrely (e.g., p. 720). Our author rightly controverts Dr. Bruce's statement that "Jesus was for Paul the Lord, because He was the Saviour," pointing out that "vital as the doctrines of salvation are to St. Paul, his belief in the Lordship of Jesus was anterior to them". We should therefore have expected a far more detailed treatment of the Apostle's central conception of the κυριότης of Christ. A good paragraph is that on Sin and Death. Professor Findlay, however, does not discuss the question as to how much that which we call physical death means for Paul. This must certainly have an important bearing on his eschatology. It is most useful to have the clear statement of page 722 (ad fin.) on the Heavenly Man. This idea has been seriously exaggerated by many and made the pivot of Paul's religious thinking. Professor Findlay points out that the δεύτερος ανθρωπος of I Corinthians is no ideal man, the archetype of humanity as distinguished from the earthy, phenomenal man. "The second man is, in this context, the risen (not the preincarnate) Christ, clothed already, to our knowledge, with His spiritual body." "When he distinguishes the two as from earth, from heaven, he points to their respective source of being, implying nothing as to previous state of being." Such statements illumine the whole subject. We cannot agree with the interpretation of Philippians ii. 6. Findlay holds that it was not of the  $\mu\rho\rho\phi\dot{\gamma}$   $\theta\epsilon\hat{\rho}\hat{\nu}$  that Christ emptied Himself, "but of the external conditions described by the words  $\tau \hat{o}$  eivat loa  $\theta \epsilon \hat{\omega}$ ". May one not justly ask, what can external conditions possibly mean as applied to God or the pre-existing Christ? A brief but very suggestive discussion of St. Paul's conception of the co-existence of the Divine and human in Christ concludes with the far-reaching statement that "the Incarnation and Atonement spring, therefore, out of the fundamental relations of God and man in Christ".

In dealing with eschatology, Professor Findlay perhaps scarcely does justice to the change which many scholars trace

in Paul's mode of conceiving the state entered immediately after death. There is at least a good deal to be said in favour of this hypothesis. The article concludes with an admirable bibliography, full and up-to-date. Perhaps the only discussion of importance that ought to be added is Grafe's Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz. On page 698 where Paul's use of the Book of Wisdom is mentioned, a reference might be given to Grafe's valuable essay on that subject in Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet (Freiburg i. B.: 1802).

Articles which fall under the same heading are those on Peter and John Mark by Dr. Chase, and that on the several bearers of the name Mary in the New Testament by Dr. J. B. Mayor. Of Dr. Chase's two articles, both elaborate, that on the Evangelist is, in our judgment, distinctly the more successful. The whole historical situation in the life of St. Mark is very ingeniously and very convincingly woven together from stray hints. Especially worthy of notice is the cogent discussion of the reasons why Mark left Paul and Barnabas in the course of the first missionary journey. Dr. Chase puts forward the interesting theory that the words of Acts xiii. 5, είχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάνην ὑπηρέτην mean, "they had with them also John, the synagogue minister". The article on Peter extends to twenty-three pages. The history is examined with most painstaking minuteness, but somehow we fail to get a satisfying picture of the life and character as a whole. More than half the article is devoted to the later Christian tradition regarding St. Peter. On this subject a vast amount of investigation must have been expended, and the whole discussion shows great erudition. But it would find a more fitting place in a Dictionary of Christian Biography. We have something of the same feeling as regards Dr. Mayor's article, especially the second section of that part which treats of the Virgin Mary. The first section gives an admirable summary of New Testament data. In the remaining portion, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole space, we have the stories of the Apocryphal Gospels, the history of opinion respecting the Virgin, her place in Liturgiology, and her place in Art. Of course, considering ecclesiastical developments, such treatment may be quite justifiable. But a more condensed account would have sufficed. In the article on the other Marys, the problem of the two anointings overshadows all else. No satisfying solution is reached. Probably such a solution is impossible. For it certainly appears as if two narratives had become confused at a very early date. Mr. Headlam's short articles on Narcissus, Nereus, Paulus (Sergius), etc., are models of scholarly workmanship. The same may be said of those on Linus and Onesimus by Mr. Redpath and Professor Lock respectively.

Owing to alphabetical sequence this volume contains the three articles on the Synoptic Gospels. These must certainly be reckoned among its most valuable contents.

Mr. Bebb's treatment of "Luke" is very thorough and adequate. He maps out his subject with great lucidity and deals with each department of it both clearly and decisively. Specially satisfactory is his careful criticism of the theory of Blass which postulates two editions of the Gospel, and there is an excellent summary of the sources used by the Evangelist. The whole arrangement of the material is tersely delineated. and Mr. Bebb gives good grounds for his opinion that in St. Luke a strong sense of the universality of the Gospel is found, unaccompanied by anti-Jewish feeling. Dr. Salmond's article on the Gospel of Mark is admirable both in plan and execution. Style, language, text, selection and arrangement of matter, characteristics, attestation, authorship, relation to the other Synoptics etc.—each section is treated with full knowledge. sane judgment, and very complete references to authorities. The true aim of a Bible Dictionary is always kept in view, the reporting of those results which have been certified by the general verdict of scholarship rather than the actual discussion of problems which are only now in the course of solution. Where all is on so high a level it is difficult to select. We have been struck by the treatment of the text, so full and yet so concise, by the discussion of the genius of the Gospel, as distinctively the Gospel of action, exhibiting Jesus as the Son of God with power, and by the criticism

which justifies the famous words of Papias on the Tákis of the Gospel and points out that the seeming contradiction is only due to the fact that Mark's narrative is more continuous than the others. Mr. Bartlet has done an excellent piece of work in his article on "Matthew". It occupies only nine pp., but every page is full of suggestion. We may mention as specially valuable, in our judgment, the important discussion of the relation of our Gospel to the Apostle Matthew on the basis of Papias' information, in which Mr. Bartlet suggests that perhaps "all that really belonged to the Apostle was a type of oral teaching". He presupposes a "different history of Logian tradition before it reacted on Matthew and Luke ". This would explain many problems belonging to their agreements and differences. Mr. Bartlet regards Matt. iv. 23-v. I as "crucial for the evangelist's methods. Is his relation to Mark here determined by other narrative material, oral or written, or simply by his own plan for the use of his didactic or Logian matter?" He decides for the latter alternative on the ground that "all close study of Matthew shows its historic interest to be quite subordinate to the interpretative, the setting forth in orderly fashion of the salient features of Messiah's activity and teaching". This he finds to be characteristic of "Matthew's" use of Mark. Mr. Bartlet states the conclusions he has reached with great clearness. They appear to us to rank amongst the most important contributions which have been made to the study of the Gospel of Matthew in recent years. Curiously enough, Holtzmann's great work, Die Synoptischen Evangelien, is not included in the good list of literature. Apart from the Synoptic Gospels, the most important articles on New Testament books are those of Dr. Chase on 1 and 2 Peter. In our opinion they are far too elaborate, the one extending to seventeen and the other to twenty-two pp. But unquestionably they are very valuable for the scholarly care with which every point has been examined and the fairness and discrimination with which the results of the investigation are set down. Dr. Chase believes that the first Epistle is addressed to Gentile readers. Justly considering that the nature of the persecutions

to which they were exposed is a crucial question for the whole interpretation of the Epistle, he concludes, after a full examination of the evidence, that there is no trace here of the Neronian persecution, and that no persecuting policy against the Church had, as yet, been adopted by the Roman magistrates in Asia Minor. "Violence, slander, the severance of social and family ties, worldly ruin "-these were the tribulations which the Christians of Asia had to face. We believe that this is the true interpretation of the situation. We have little space to devote to the exhaustive discussion of 2 Peter. After a complete survey of the attestation of the Epistle he decides, certainly with good reason, against the genuineness of the book. Much emphasis is laid on the marked contrast between the two Epistles as to literary style. In this connexion he notes a point which has often struck "This Epistle is the one book of the New Testament which, it may be thought, gains by translation. The reader of the dignified and sober English of the authorised version in which the ambiguities and eccentricities of the original are to a great extent obliterated, has probably a far higher idea of the literary style of the Epistle than the student of the Greek". Dr. Chase favours the idea that this Epistle and the Apocalypse of Peter are products of the same school.

As regards questions of general introduction, Professor Thayer's scholarly article on the "Language of New Testament" occupies a leading place. It is both concise and comprehensive, displaying, as we might expect, a thorough grasp of the problems involved, and bringing forward those aspects of them most likely to interest readers of the dictionary. A clear distinction is drawn between Attic Greek and that of the New Testament, which Dr. Thayer would designate Hellenistic Greek. This name appears to us scarcely satisfactory, as it fails to recognise that, after all, the language of the New Testament belongs, with some modifications, to the colloquial Greek of its own period. But perhaps it is hard to find anything better. For, to a considerable extent, as Thayer notes, it does occupy "an intermediate position between the vulgarisms of the populace and the studied style Vol. X.-No. 6.

of the litterateurs of the period". Useful lists are given of new words and words with new meanings. Attention is drawn to peculiarities of form, a department of investigation in which great advances have been made within the last few years. (See especially the elaborate treatment of Formenlehre bearing upon the later language in such works as the revised edition of Kühner's Ausführliche Grammatik by Blass, and K. Dieterich's Untersuchungen in Heft I of Krumbacher's Byzantinisches Archiv, 1898.) In an interesting summary of syntactical peculiarities, Professor Thayer mentions the tendency of  $\mu\dot{\eta}$  to encroach on the province of  $o\dot{v}$  as partly arising from the desire to prevent hiatus. There can be no doubt that this striving accounts for many apparent anomalies in the later language. F. Kaelker has made the fact abundantly clear in the case of Polybius and Diodorus Siculus (see Leipziger Studien z. class. Philol., iii., 2, pp. 219-320). Aramaic and Hebrew elements in the language are noted, and also, with caution, the influence of Latin on the syntax. But Dr. Thayer finds the religious element to be the "soul" of the subject. The vitality of the New Testament language "resides in the spirit that quickens it". Characteristic instances are given of the influence of Christianity in modifying the meaning of words already current. A terse and suggestive outline of the style and vocabulary of the various New Testament writers is sketched, accompanied by a very needful warning against "over-pressing slight variations in phraseology into proof of difference in authorship or of substantial difference of thought". The article concludes with a brief list of linguistic problems affecting exegesis which still await solution. A short bibliography is appended, and for further information readers are referred to Schmiedel's Winer. It would have been well to include the Einleitung in d. neugriech. Grammatik of Hatzidakis (Leipz., 1892), Buresch's invaluable discussion in Rheinisches Museum, vol. xlvi., and Krumbacher's Beiträge in Kuhn's Zeitschrift (xxvii., p. 498 ff.).

Professor V. H. Stanton deals with the New Testament Canon in an article worthy of the importance of the subject. The evidence of the post-apostolic writers is presented with great fulness. We should have expected a more detailed introduction, taking up more or less thoroughly such questions as the causes of the formation of the Canon, the processes involved, and especially the determining factors for the conception of canonicity. The bibliography omits to mention Reuss's History of the Canon, translated by Hunter, Edinburgh, 1884. This work is distinct from Die Geschichte d. heil. Schriften N.T. by the same author.

The writer has discussed the Latin versions of the Bible anterior to Jerome's Vulgate at some length, as hitherto there has been no convenient summary in English. Unfortunately he was unable to make much use of P. Corssen's invaluable dissertation on the Weingarten and Würzburg MSS. of the Prophets, as it only came into his hands during the final revision of proofs.

In the department of New Testament theology there are several noteworthy articles. We would first mention that by Professor Denney on "Law in New Testament". It is in every sense admirable. Concise and lucid, suggestive in every paragraph, it is written with that insight into New Testament doctrine which springs from genuine spiritual sympathy. Nowhere could one find a more satisfying treatment of the attitude of Jesus to the law. This he summarises as "entire loyalty to it as the revelation of God's will, entire comprehension of it in its principle and aim, entire subordination of every expression of it to its principle, entire superiority to all human interpretations of it . . . and entire indifference, not indeed to the law as constituting an order for approaching God in worship, but to those elements in the law which. because in themselves without ethical significance, operate to corrupt conscience, and to divide men from one another without moral ground". Notable points in the article are the interpretation of Matt. xxiii. 3, the explanation of Rom. vii. 7-25, summed up as "the experience, if one may so say, of the unregenerate man seen through regenerate eyes," a masterly stroke of insight, and the refutation of the modern sense of "Law" which some find in Paul. We cannot, however, agree with Dr. Denney in the distinction he draws

(as against Grafe) between vouos and o vouos in Paul, for we believe it is impossible to justify it in many passages. Professor Adeney gives a complete and faithful presentation of biblical teaching on "Mediator" and "Mediation". does not touch upon the rationale of the Atonement, but collects the necessary material on which a biblical doctrine might be founded. The reality of Christ's sacrifice, he concludes, must be "found in the spiritual act of giving Himself There is a thoughtful discussion of to God in death". "Miracles" by Dr. Bernard, in which he frankly distinguishes between those of the New Testament and some of the Old Testament groups. He acknowledges that there is no use of discussing miracles without the assumption of Divine power as a fact. Due place is given to the importance of the question of evidence in dealing with New Testament miracles, especially the central one of the Resurrection. treatment of miracles after the Apostolic Age, valuable material might have been found in H. Weinel's important monograph, Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister, which is not named in the bibliography. Other articles worthy of mention in this department are those on the "Parousia" (Adams Brown), "Man of Sin" (M. R. James), "Logos" (G. T. Purves), and "Mystery" (Principal Stewart).

As closely akin to the theological articles, we may refer to that of Dr. Plummer on the "Lord's Supper". A careful examination of the terminology and rite is followed by a reasonable and, on the whole, impartial explanation of the doctrine. A proper protest is raised against that most absurd of all perversions, the interpretation of  $\tau o \hat{v} \tau o \pi o \iota e \hat{\iota} \tau e$  as = "sacrifice this". Dr. T. K. Abbott's careful essay ought to have settled this question for ever. The article seems to us lacking in due emphasis on the fact that reality of communion is in no way made more real by materialistic or semimaterialistic ideas of the presence of Christ.

Among the historical articles, a high place is taken by that on "Magi" by Mr. P. M. Benecke. Every possible point of interest is discussed with admirable judgment and accurate scholarship, while the references to literature are very exhaustive. To the same category belong Dr. Eaton's full and interesting article on "Pharisees," and that on "Nicolaitenes," short but thoroughly adequate, by Professor Cowan.

We have no space to deal with such important articles as those on "Paradise" (Salmond), "Mammon" (W. H. Bennet), and "Maranatha" (Thayer), except to say that they fully satisfy the requirements.

In the geographical department, Professor Ramsay's articles are pre-eminent both for scholarly mastery of the materials and that luminous suggestiveness always to be found in what he writes (we would call attention especially to those on "Pergamos" and "Phrygia"), and on the same level may be placed Mr. Turner's "Philippi," and Dr. Robertson's "Melita".

The Editor's studies of words grow more and more interesting as the work proceeds. As an admirable example of their value we might cite that on "Paraclete" (the translation finally adopted by Dr. Hastings), in which he clearly shows how the idea of Comforter ousted the correct conception of the classical advocatus.

The very valuable articles on "Marriage" (Professor Paterson), "Money" (Professor Kennedy), and "Name" (G. B. Gray), would come up for treatment more suitably under the Old Testament.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

ment and though nearly lead to

# What is Thought? or the Problem of Philosophy by Way of a General Conclusion so far.

By James Hutchison Stirling, LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1900. 8vo, pp. ix + 423. Price 10s. 6d.

It is just thirty-five years ago that Dr. Stirling published his Secret of Hegel. The publication of that work was, in many ways, a philosophical event. Till the Secret made its appearance the study of Hegel in this country was practically unknown; or at least carried on amid serious difficulties. owing to the lack of a guiding hand to set the student on right lines, and of a genius capable both of understanding and explicating the master. But from the moment those two goodly volumes appeared, in which Dr. Stirling first, and (pretty well) finally, unfolded the "secret" of Hegel, a new era had dawned for the understanding of German philosophy in Great Britain. Now it is not only because of his having come latest in time among the great German philosophers, but of his having thoroughly assimilated the thought of all that went before, that Hegel has achieved his immense importance in the historic reference. To understand Hegel in his totality is to understand all that is really important in the work of the German idealists. For it was precisely owing to his perfect understanding of the problems that had presented themselves to his predecessors, and of the solutions by them propounded, that Hegel was enabled to advance with irresistible certitude to the final solution of the whole problem of philosophy itself, as we discover it, e.g., in the Logic. In any case the credit of having, so to say, "found" Hegel for Englishspeaking students is due to Dr. Stirling; and from his book, as from a spring, are mainly derivable those contributions to our knowledge of thought which culminate in such first-rate works as E. Caird's Introduction to the Critical Philosophy of

Kant, Green's Prolegomena to Ethics, Wallace's editions of the Logic of Hegel and the Philosophie des Geistes, J. Caird's Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion, etc. It was no small satisfaction, therefore, when, nearly three years ago, Dr. Stirling issued a second and revised edition of the Secret of Hegel; for that book, as we have said, marked an epoch.

But that work, though of quite primary importance, is not the only book of Dr. Stirling that claims our gratitude as students. In 1873 he published a small volume entitled Lectures on the Philosophy of Law, which merits a passing word; for, unless we are mistaken, the first chapter in that book, despite its brevity—fifteen pages—is the most luminous summing-up of the problems to be faced in philosophy, as well as the clearest and truest piece of philosophical analysis, to be found anywhere.

In 1881 Dr. Stirling gave us his Text Book to Kant; and here again his power of critical analysis, and luminous and thorough exposition, are as manifest as in that introductory chapter of fifteen pages already referred to. Of Kant's system as a system Dr. Stirling has no very exalted opinion—"a thing of sugar and a crumb of bread," he calls it (in the Gifford Lectures), for all that, like a "bride-cake," it is "bedizened, beturreted, becrowned and beflagged". What that system is, it remains; and the precautionary encumbrances with which Kant guarded his system, at all its approaches, do not vitally increase its value as an explanation of those questions that, for us, alone possess a vital significance.

In 1891 the Gifford Lectures were published (Dr. Stirling was invited to be first lecturer on the Gifford trust); and here again Dr. Stirling devoted a considerable portion of his book to Kant and his system. The book opened up a wealth of ideas; it was singularly stimulating; and both Philosophy and Theology were benefited by the light cast by the lecturer upon their mutual relations and respective characteristics.

So far we have, for a very good reason, dealt with some of the more notable of Dr. Stirling's previous contributions to philosophy. We may now betake ourselves to a brief examination of the book under present review—What is Thought?

First we see by the prefatory note that the writer had intended "a not inconsiderable preface, preliminarily introductive of the work". We regret its absence; for a short introductory summary of the four hundred and odd pages that follow would have been, in several directions, helpful. The book is not easy reading; indeed, in parts, it is exceedingly difficult, not (assuredly) through fault of the writer, but from the nature of the theme. Therefore a summary, as we have said, would have been helpful; would Dr. Stirling add this once-intended preface, should his book run into a second edition?

The first chapter is introductory. Questions, such as that of a substantial first, of God as such first, are touched upon; nor is the expected reference to Aristotle's Metaphysics passed over. Readers of the Gifford Lectures long since have learnt what Dr. Stirling's estimate of Aristotle is.

Chapter II. "may very well be passed by a general reader," according to its writer's own estimate; not so by a serious student, who will find there a great deal to interest him in a metaphysical regard, both in the matter of Schelling and the proof ontological. We may learn there an excellent lesson, even as regards the problem in hand, namely, "that a First must be abstractly a First; that it cannot not be; that it is necessarily existent; and that it holds of both worlds, the ideal and the real".

Chapter III. is of prime import; it touches upon the problem of a First, before passing on to consider, more fully, the doctrine that Thought itself is the ratio between "I" and "Me," or rather, that Thought is, in fact, the ratio that is implicitly within the "I" itself. Now this is the proposition which Dr. Stirling proposes to substantiate; and the rest of the book is, in extended order, a demonstration of this bedrock truth. "Man's life is in the crutch of the antithesis between universal and particular, for what lies in the hollow of that crutch is thought itself; Thought, in truth, is nothing but the very antithesis named" (Philosophy of Law, p. 4). And the allegation is that the Ratio is Thought—Thought as Thought. The filling of self-consciousness (= "me") is

the Ratio; what constitutes self-consciousness, i.e., its exact content, is the Ratio of Subject and Object. Thought is the pulse, the spring, of all Being—nay, it is itself Being. Such is Dr. Stirling's particular enunciation, followed in Chapter IV. by a large number of illustrative references (mainly taken from the Secret of Hegel), corroborating that enunciation.

Chapter V., "Philosophy and Science," is one of the most impressive chapters in the book. And there we may conveniently note one peculiar characteristic of Dr. Stirling's writing, and that is his instantaneously solemnising power. He will be dealing, say, some shrewd hits at Kant's system; or gibing at some idle piece of rationalism more than usually redolent of the new Aufklärung; or girding himself to do battle with some fallacy, tossing his opponents to and fro, as he heaps scorn upon solemn quackery, whether canonised by Aufgeklärter or not;—and then, suddenly (and in this he reminds one of the poet Browning), his words shape themselves into noble order, and a strange sense of harmony, as of some cosmic hymn, breathes through each syllable, making itself felt in living power of spiritual conviction.

We may now, perhaps, pass on to Chapter X. (to which Dr. Stirling invites special attention, "as simply the key to all philosophy as such at present"); this consists throughout of a discussion of Kant's *Critical Philosophy*. First, however, let us transcribe (from p. 83) what Dr. Stirling says in the eighth chapter touching the great enunciation:—

Self-consciousness necessarily, and of its own self, is, and is what is. Self-consciousness is its own foundation of support, and its own prius of origination. Then Thought, Self-consciousness, cannot be impersonal: Thought, Self-consciousness, always implies a subject. Why hesitate to name it God? The self-consciousness of the universe is the Divine Self-consciousness, and not the human, which is but the necessary finite.

That is, then, the position of the *universal* in regard of the question "What is Thought?" but it underlies implicitly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> His style is sometimes needlessly involved, we think; one difficulty there, arises from his perpetual use of the word *that* in different senses, which detracts from smoothness of sound as it does from ease of comprehension.

the whole history of philosophy, and is vital in every period of it. In the next chapter (the ninth), Dr. Stirling, by way of illustration, gives us a singularly suggestive little sketch of philosophy, in its main currents, in the reference to history. We advance thus from the *universal* to its particularisation.

This tenth chapter ("The German Reference—Kant") we have read—every line and word—with special care, jotting down notes, from time to time, in order to be able to advance in this review toward some sort of an estimate of the chapter as a whole. But these jottings have swelled into a sufficiently formidable chapter of themselves; hence it will not be practicable, within the limited space available, to do more than *note* some of the more pregnant of Dr. Stirling's criticisms of the "good" Kant.

On page 119 there is a lucid and brilliant exposition of Kant's theory of sense-perception. The single object of the "Kritik," of the Transcendental Philosophy, is (we are told) "to disclose the machinery by which mere appearances within are converted into the actual things of perception in experience without". Now Dr. Stirling has, before this, shut up (so to say) Kant in a sentence (see "note" in Schwegler): "the sensations of the various special senses, received into the universal à priori forms of time and space, are reduced into perceptive objects, connected together in a synthesis of experience by the categories".

Kant sought to find his tertium quid—that postulated "mediate" between category and sense-impression, that nexus between forms of thought and impressions of sense—in Pure Time, which (says Dr. Stirling) "he fondly fancied would give him a scheme for all his categories" (p. 145). But what about these categories themselves? This matter is discussed on pages 128 sqq. (to name one place only); and the difficulty of quite grasping all that is said, or implied, here is considerable; but Dr. Stirling's conclusion (at beginning of § 11) is tolerably evident. Compare the passage on page 128 with page 131, and the Kantian admission that "each category must be supplied with a sense-cue of its own". Well, but is not the manner of the working of these cate-

gories quite wonderful? And why twelve of them—like signs of an intellectual zodiac lighting up the destinies of nations, or apostles from whom is derived mysterious power, transmissible by a laying-on of hands?

As regards "necessity in the causal relation," Dr. Stirling's commentary is admirably clear. Hume, we know, borrowed it from custom  $^1$  (= permanent association, a natural principle), Kant from analogy. Now this necessity is, in truth, the crux of the whole problem; but what has Kant done for us here? "He has," says Dr. Stirling, "of his own will, set an a b of sense and an A B of intellect, not logically, but analogically, beside each other." Nor will he allow us to have any knowledge of objects in experience, save what are mere apparitions (Erscheinungen) of sense. And that, says Dr. Stirling, is Kant's  $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau o \nu \psi \epsilon \hat{\nu} \delta o s$ . Things are not the mere wraiths and "shows" that Kant would fain believe; and his regarding objects of sense as such constituted his initial blunder.

What, it may be asked, are Time and Space for Kant? Have they any real existence, or but an imputed reality, a reality, namely, that has its roots in the soil of subjectivity alone? For Kant (not for us!) Time and Space are general à priori forms of the à posteriori within us; they, too, are nought but Erscheinungen. We notice that Dr. Stirling makes no specific reference here to Professor Watson's criticisms in the volume, Kant and his English Critics, published nineteen years ago, not long after Dr. Stirling's own articles upon the Kantian question in the Journal of Speculative Philosophy. Indeed we may remark that, generally, Dr. Stirling takes practically no notice of recent works of philosophical discussion (e.g., Caird's great work on Kant, already named); at any rate he mentions them not at all. And this, we think, is a pity.

Very noteworthy is Dr. Stirling's reply to Hume's poser in the *Enquiry* (*Essays*, vol. ii., p. 26, in edition of Green and Grose): "Effect is totally different from cause, and conse-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hence Hume asserted that the *necessity* usually attributed to cause and effect was but an imputed necessity of our own! If such really were the case, there could be no *meaning*, no logic, in the universe at all.

quently can never be discovered in it". Where Hume marks difference, and difference alone, his critic-more sagacious than he—finds the secret of relation in identity (p. 177). And there is the truth; it is identity (difference in identity, identity manifested in difference) that is the focus of the whole problem—this living, life-giving, principle, regarded as the single posited fact in existence, competent to explain all the infinite variety of existence; competent, too, to reduce into its own identity all the difference that is, and therefore bringing with it its own attestation. As to the question of change from cause to effect, Dr. Stirling justly observes that whereas the change is sensuously perceived, the cause is perceived intellectually (see p. 192 sqq.). Even mathematical truth possesses a double element, existential and notional; even mathematical truth has to be considered as constant in a dual relation, viz., we read it both sensuously and intellectually.

As an example of Dr. Stirling's power of happy illustration, we may refer to page 199, where his doctrine, "the abolition of difference is the installation of identity," is cleverly exemplified from *Euclid*, i., 32.

In closing this tenth chapter Dr. Stirling recognises, amply and generously, Kant's great claim in the historical reference—to say nothing of his notable achievements in the realm of action (Moral Law, etc.)—when he writes thus: "Far and away the most important crisis in the whole movement towards the Ego was, in his Pure Apperception with its categories, the critical initiation of Kant".

Chapters XI.-XIII. deal with Fichte (the Fichte sections are specially interesting) and Schelling. Interjected into the twelfth chapter is a lecture on the quarrel of Schelling and Hegel; it is no doubt somewhat beside the mark in this discussion of What Thought is; but its merits are so considerable, and it affords so pleasing a break in the philosophical disquisitions themselves, that we more than welcome it here. Schelling is dealt with throughout the lecture and the chapters in a strikingly faithful way; we feel ourselves in safe guidance here, and such guidance is the needfuller, as

no trustworthy guides to Schelling are forthcoming in our country—at present. The main interest of Schelling's philosophy (for us) is its bearing on the Hegelian, the root, the nerve, of which is the doctrine of the Begriff. It is curious to note Schelling's passionate rejection of Hegel's answer to the great question: "How can, how does, Logic pass over into Nature? What is the character of the transition?"—a rejection founded, not on philosophy, but on personal hate.

Chapter XIV. deals with Hegel; profound, wisely-ordered, vastly suggestive, it is perhaps the crown of Dr. Stirling's work. The secret of Hegel is there; and that "secret" is, in point of fact, the solution of the problem proposed.

In God, as in the Ego, subject and object are together. There is but one God and His Universe. The Universe is He; and He is but the Universe. Properly... there is but God! There is but one etymon in this world, one eteon, but One that  $\emph{opt}_{\omega}$  is—EIMI, I am—I Am That I am. Now that that is, is not an abstract: it is a concrete—the concrete. It is an I, but an I of the Me—a subject, but a Subject of the Object... There is a ratio that binds the one to the other. God is the principle that creates the universe, and that ratio is the law according to which the Universe is created.

"Consequently there is no personal God," cried Schelling, whose words have been echoed alike by sciolist and mistaker of Hegel's meaning, from that day forward. "Not so," replied Hegel, "the actual contrary is alone true; there is a personal God." And, to quote Lotze, perfect personality can be predicated of God alone, to whom alone perfect personality belongs. God is God, because He is the perfect Person.

Chapter XV. is the conclusion of the work. We have philosophised (for over 400 pages) through the Ego, as the single standard of attainable truth, nay, rather the one supremely existent fact, the living centre, of

this mighty sum
Of things for ever speaking;

but, says Dr. Stirling, to philosophise through the Ego is not to presume to measure the infinity of God. Rather let us say: "There can no Supreme Being be, but that must to

Himself say I: I Am That I am. It is the very heart of the Christian religion that the Infinite God, become Finite, is a Man. And Man is I. Even by the privilege of having been made like unto God [Gen. i. 27], Man is I. It is that that he has of God in him." And to realise I is the purpose, as it is the history, of the universe.

This review is but, at best, a collection of notes obviously set down to give some impression—most imperfectly and faintly, one is all too cognisant—of a noble contribution to the philosophy of our time. British philosophy is permanently enriched by Dr. Stirling's remarkable and penetrative piece of work.

"Master of them that know!" thy voice again
Rings, as of old, the great way. Thou hast said
Wisely and well; for, at thy strong rebuke,
Error, with all her thousand phantasies,
Flees murmuring; and false philosophies
Fade into thinnest air. Before thy pen—
An intellectual sword within thy grasp
For valorous ends—they pass, not unashamed.
How then should we, thy debtors, grudge thee thanks
For strenuous service (spite thy fourscore years)
In Truth's great cause, "Master of them that know?"

E. H. BLAKENEY.

# Das Blut im Glauben und Aberglauben der Menschheit, etc.

Von Dr. Hermann L. Strack. München: Beck, 1900. Pp. xii. + 206. Price M.2.50.

THE English-speaking student of Professor Strack's latest book, Blood in the Religious Belief and Superstition of Mankind, with Special Reference to "Folk-Medicine" and the Jewish "Blood-Ritual," may well be excused, if he occasionally rubs his eyes and asks himself if he is really on the threshold of the twentieth century of the Christian era. The gross superstition and almost incredible credulity of masses of our fellow-Christians, especially in Austria and South Germany, for which Strack here gives chapter and verse, are almost enough to make one despair of the future of the human race. From time to time, as is well known, a wave of anti-Jewish fanaticism sweeps across a portion of the continent of Europe, of which one of the most revolting features is the recrudescence of the accusation that the Jews make use of Christian blood for ritual purposes. In 1892, Professor Strack submitted this popular delusion to a thorough scientific investigation, for which his almost unrivalled acquaintance with Jewish literature and modes of thought specially fitted him. The result was his brochure "Der Blutaberglaube" (The Blood-superstition), of which 11,000 in four editions were sold, and which had the effect of convincing every impartial mind of the baselessness of the charge, and of silencing, for a time at least, the slanders of Rohling and other fanatical Anti-semites. Somewhat over a year ago, however, a young Christian woman was found murdered near a village in Bohemia, a Jew was charged with the crime, and the hue and cry broke out afresh.

To this circumstance we owe the greatly enlarged edition

of his former work which Professor Strack has issued under the above title. In its present form the work is much more than a defence of the Jews against a cruel and groundless charge: it is in reality what its title indicates, a study of the part which blood, especially human blood, has played in the beliefs and superstitions of our race in all countries and in every age. The student of folk-lore and of the history of popular or "folk-medicine," as well as the student of primitive religions, will find in the first part, pp. 1-85, many a curious fact culled from the most diverse sources. The second part (pp. 85-202) is devoted to the more special investigation of the bloodaccusation, so persistently renewed. Professor Strack has no difficulty in showing that no trace of the ritual use of Christian blood is to be found in the whole range of the authoritative ceremonial (halachic) literature of Judaism, and has here given us the correct translation and interpretation of certain passages of the Talmud, which ignorant fanatics like Rohling and his set have perverted for their purpose. In the closing chapter which deals with the origin and history of this particular charge, Dr. Strack shows that the blood-accusation cannot be traced farther back than the year 1236, when it first makes its appearance. The book is a complete storehouse of material for the study of a subject which we, in our more enlightened and tolerant atmosphere, can only regard as a species of mental disease, and its learned author will have the support of every right-thinking and truth-loving Christian in his skilful defence of the long-suffering children of the Ghetto.

A. R. S. KENNEDY.

## Ethics and Religion.

(A Collection of Essays of Sir John Seeley, Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. W. M. Salter, Prof. Henry Sidgwick, Prof. G. Von Gizycki, Dr. Bernard Bosanquet, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Stanton Cort and Prof. J. H. Muirhead.) Edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. Crown 8vo, pp. ix. + 324. Price 5s.

Darstellungen aus dem Gebiete der nichtchristlichen Religionsgesichte (xiii. Band). Die Religion der Römer.

Von Emil Aust. Münster i. W., Aschendorffsche Buchhandlung, 1899. 8vo, pp. viii + 268. Price M.4.

This volume of essays is edited by the Society of Ethical Propagandists, and we are bound to look at it from that point of view. All the writers protest a little too much, and they all seem conscious of a certain weakness in their position. Can there be a purely ethical propaganda? The Society says in the preface to this book: "The criticism most frequently brought against Ethical Societies is that they do not rest upon any philosophical basis. The implication is that they have therefore no foundation at all.

"The writers of the essays in this volume, all of whom have been founders or influential friends of Ethical Societies, are unanimously insistent upon one point. They urge that an Ethical Society should hold itself uncommitted to any theory of the Universe, and should not be primarily interested in the Metaphysic of Ethics; they hold that its relation to theory should be that of investigation and construction rather than of advocacy and dogmatic inculcation. Sir John Seeley warns us not to descend from theory to practice, but to mount from moral experience and effort to moral truths.

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Professor Sidgwick advises us to avoid the ultimate principles of thought, and to keep to the fruitful region of middle axioms. Dr. Bosanquet expresses the same view, when he refuses to accept the spreading of *ideas about morality* as a function of an Ethical Society, but instead recommends the spreading of *moral ideas*. Dr. Felix Adler, Mr. Salter, Professor Von Gizycki, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Dr. Cort, Professor Muirhead, all dwell on the same distinction," not ideas about morality but moral ideas are what is to be propagated.

The Society of Ethical Propagandists exists, then, for the spreading of moral ideas. The members of the Society are "willing to ascend from experience and practice to theory; they expect to end, but entertain no hope of beginning with a system of universal truth". We are deeply interested in the movement. We have read these essays with intense interest, and we certainly wish the Society all success in their mission. The spreading of moral ideas is a great mission. But how are they to be spread? How are people to be persuaded to accept and act on these moral ideas? That is the practical difficulty.

The essays of the distinguished authors may be read with pleasure. We may admire the literary power, the ethical wisdom, and the philosophical grasp of truth manifested by them, as we heartily do. But how are these moral ideas to be translated into action? How are bad men to be made good? selfish men to become unselfish? and sinful men to become holy? We do not find any adequate answer to these questions, which really are the pressing questions. history of humanity shows that moral ideas have never been absent from men, since men had been formed into social organisations. The difficulty has always been, (1) to persuade men to act on these moral ideas, and (2) to enable them to attain the moral and spiritual power to do so. Ethical societies, if they are to become practical and useful. must begin deeper down, and provide some, or organise some, adequate means not only for the spreading of moral ideas but for the redemption of man.

Aust's volume is the thirteenth of the series of expositions of the nature and history of the non-Christian religions of the world. Those of them which we have seen are of such a character as to make them indispensable to the student of religions. They are written by men who are really experts in the various religions committed to their care. Experts are needed for this kind of work. For the knowledge needed for full and adequate treatment of any religion is so vast and varied, that but few men have the time or opportunity of acquiring it. Then the material for study is increasing by leaps and bounds, and a manual of the history of any religion has to be rewritten every few years. Every scrap of literature, every inscription, every ancient monument, and every bit of art and pottery brought to light by the spade may be of significance for the true understanding of the religion of a people, and every reader knows how many of these have been brought to light within recent years. The works of this series make use of all sources of information, and they use them wisely and well.

There is also a growing consensus of opinion as to the method according to which such manuals ought to be written. The historical method is known and acted on, and the principles of historical inquiry are becoming more truly understood. Subjectivity is discountenanced, and while there is ample scope for the exercise of insight, for the manifestation of critical ingenuity, yet the bounds within which these are to be valid are more rigidly set than of yore. If we compare this manual with those of a quarter of a century ago, we are conscious of the vast progress which modern science has made in method and in power. It moves more easily, it has its material more firmly in its grasp, its range has widened, and its results are more certain.

In all respects the work before us is admirable. It makes full use of all the sources of information, and uses them wisely and well. It is written in a lucid and vivid style, and its method of exposition is orderly, progressive and cumulative. It covers a wide field, and yet all the parts of the field are adequately treated. A brief introduction leads on to an admirable exposition of the essence of Roman religion. What the foundations of that religion are, what is the significance of local and political development for religion, how secular and spiritual interests have intermingled, what is the relation of gods to men, what is the relation of religion to morality, are discussed in a way which casts light on the character of religion in general and special light on the character and history of Roman religion.

Then we are led on to the characterisation of the epochs of Roman religion. That there are epochs in Roman religion is first set forth and justified. The national epoch is first described, with its priests, festivals, and its states and forms of worship as these were manifested before the influence of foreign cults were felt at Rome. The second epoch describes the influence on each other of the national and Greek cults. It is shown that political changes had their influence on the religion of Rome, that the culture of Greece was widely influential on Roman customs and beliefs. The section is rich in information, and the various tendencies are graphically traced. It is a most important contribution towards the understanding of the final, complex result of Roman religion. The third epoch traces still farther the results of those forces seen at work during the second epoch. Political, industrial and spiritual tendencies of a novel sort were introduced into the Roman state during the Punic and subsequent wars, and these had their significance for religion. Mythology, art, poetry and philosophy appeared, the cults of other peoples became known, and the influences exerted by all these are set forth; and at the close of this section there is a full description of Roman religion as it existed at the end of the Republic.

The influence of the Empire is next set forth. The reforms introduced by Augustus are described; the worship of the living and of the dead emperors, and the significance of that worship is set forth with a serious appreciation of its real importance. Moral philosophy, and its influence as shown in the writings of Seneca, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, receive due recognition. Then we pass to a description of

the names and functions of the gods, which is quite full and detailed. The national Roman gods, the Italian gods, the Greek gods and the Oriental gods, so far as these entered into and had a real influence on the life and conduct of Rome, and so far as they entered into Roman belief, are succinctly described. Worship as sanctioned and ordained by the State is next depicted. The oldest feasts, with their solemnities, ceremonies, and ritual are described, and their meaning elucidated. A section describes the sacred persons and their functions, from the Pontifex Maximus down to the Augurs.

A full description is given of what may be called private worship, worship in the family, in the household, and in the ordinary business of life. The ceremonies and the ritual appropriate to marriage, birth and childhood, death, burial and the worship of the manes are set forth. In fact there is nothing neglected, and every section of the book deserves praise. We think that for literary merit, for clearness of method, for fulness of statement, for depth of insight and wisdom in arrangement, this work will hold the field for some time to come.

JAMES IVERACH.

#### Das Johannesevangelium.

Eine Untersuchung seiner Entstehung und seines geschichtlichen Wertes. Von D. Hans Hinrich Wendt, o. Professor der Theologie in Jena. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900. Pp. vi. + 239. Price M.6.

THE appearance of a new book by Professor Wendt, devoted to a discussion of the Johannine problem, is an event of theological interest and importance. His Teaching of Jesus, published in 1886, has secured for him a keenly attentive audience in this country as well as in his own. In that work he put forward, inter alia, the hypothesis that the Fourth Gospel shows signs, especially in the discourses of Jesus, of its author having used an older document in its composition. Fourteen years have passed, marked by the publication of a large number of important works on this Gospel, many of which dismiss Wendt's theory with a curt refutation. their objections have failed to shake his confidence in the trustworthiness of his earlier conclusions, and he now devotes this volume to a fuller exposition and defence of what he regards as the only satisfactory solution of difficulties which other theories either ignore or inadequately explain.

In the first chapter we are given a preliminary discussion of the value to be assigned to the Fourth Gospel as a source of history. The verdict arrived at is that the Fourth Evangelist—when his narrative is compared and contrasted with the older Synoptic tradition in Mark and the Logia of Matthew—is sometimes right and sometimes wrong in his presentation of the order of events. A dubious distinction is drawn between the view taken of Christ's miracles in John and in the other three Gospels. Wendt holds that John represents them as done with the specific intention to awaken faith, while the Synoptics simply regard them as spontaneous manifestations of love for the needy. Wendt indeed seems to take a somewhat low view of the Fourth Evangelist's appetite for the

merely marvellous and thaumaturgic. He believes that he carried still farther that process of unhistorically modifying and expanding the original Synoptic tradition, the beginnings of which are observable in the secondary parts of the Synoptics themselves. And this he takes to be decisive proof that the Fourth Gospel, as we have it now, cannot have been written by the Apostle John.

While the Fourth Evangelist knew and employed the Synoptic Gospels, adopting words and phrases from one or another as memory suggested, and without any clear principle of selection, yet after all he borrowed comparatively little material from them. Where, then, do the discourses of Jesus come from? This question, of course, could hardly arise so long as the Gospel in its entirety was supposed to have been written by an Apostle. But now that the progress of criticism has raised it. Wendt brings forward once more a theory, started as far back as 1838 by Weisse, to the effect that in the composition of the great discourses the Fourth Evangelist employed an older documentary source. reasons, he says, combine to force this conclusion upon us. "First, between the view of the Evangelist himself and the thought of the discourses of Jesus which he records there exist differences such as would be unintelligible had the Evangelist composed these discourses freely out of his own head. Secondly, in many cases the discourses have been furnished with a historical setting which is singularly inappropriate." These two statements are expanded in the sections which follow. The Evangelist's tendency, according to Wendt, always is to give a material and temporal sense to words originally designed to convey a purely spiritual meaning; e.g., in the explanation he offers of the words of Jesus, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up". Next, Wendt discusses seven cases in which, he maintains, Jesus' discourses have been inserted in situations which are manifestly incongruous with their tenor. The searching examination to which he submits them displays, no doubt, much subtle ingenuity; but it is impossible not to ask oneself whether a writer of deeper insight still might not succeed

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in elucidating in all these instances a real connexion between the words of Christ and the particular circumstances which, according to the Evangelist, suggested them. Incidentally we learn that in Wendt's opinion the original document contained Logia, and but little history; and that in working it up into the Gospel the Fourth Evangelist cannot have had a manuscript copy before him, but must have trusted to his memory, as the writers of the New Testament do when citing the Old. In this whole attempt to rearrange the various sections of the Gospel in their proper chronological order there is necessarily exhibited a good deal of purely subjective criticism; and it is difficult to believe that any writer of ordinary intelligence could have been guilty of some of the blunders in juxtaposition which Wendt claims to have exposed.

Wendt is willing to confess that the attempt to sift out those portions of the Gospel which were taken from this original source can only lead to approximate results. he addresses himself to the task with considerable assurance, and besides a full discussion in the body of the text presents us in an appendix with a tabular statement, in which he traverses the first nineteen chapters of John and singles out those verses and sections which ought to be referred to this discourse-document. This self-imposed and somewhat difficult feat accomplished, the character of the document as a whole is described. It was essentially similar to the Logia of Matthew, i.e., composed of sayings and discourses which had been provided with brief historical introductions. contents dealt exclusively with Jesus' visits to Jerusalem. Its author desired specially to put on record (a) how Jesus had repeatedly and emphatically assured the leaders of Judaism of His inward fellowship with God, and His saving purpose, but had met with nothing but misconception, soon deepening into deadly hatred, and (b) how He had opened His heart to His disciples at the Last Supper, in exhortation, and consolation and prayer. Echoes of the contents of this source, as distinct from the historical framework provided for it by the Fourth Evangelist, are to be found in the Johannine Epistles, the letters of Ignatius, and Justin Martyr.

Much of what Wendt submits as bearing on the historical value of this primitive document is to be found in any Introduction under the heading "Historicity of the Gospel of John," and need not be particularly alluded to now. It is of special interest, however, to observe the conclusions which he has been led to form about the discourses ascribed to Christ. Formally considered, he holds that they cannot be regarded as faithful to the reality, but a comparison of them with the teaching of Jesus recorded in the Synoptic Gospels proves that in substance they have every mark of truth. Not only is the general religious attitude of Christ the same in both, but even Christ's sayings in John regarding the transcendent dignity of His own nature and mission can be paralleled from Matthew, Mark and Luke.

The issue being thus narrowed, we come, under Wendt's guidance, to the final inference that this discourse-document owed its origin to the Apostle John, and was employed by a later writer in composing the Gospel as we now have it. This explains those indirect references to a particular "disciple" which are scattered through the Gospel, and which, while very artificial if meant by the Apostle John as covert allusions to himself, are extremely natural if used by a later writer to indicate the Apostle. On this hypothesis, too, the Fourth Gospel has exactly the same claim to be called the Gospel of John as the First has to be called the Gospel of Matthew. To all this it may be objected by extreme critics that the evident affinity with the Logos-speculation which can be traced in the Prologue vetoes the apostolic authorship of a document from which the Prologue is confessedly taken. Wendt rejoins that, while it is undeniable that the term Logos is borrowed from Philonic usage, it has no perceptible influence upon the rest of the Gospel. The relevant phenomena can all be explained by supposing that the author of the source was personally averse to the Philonic metaphysics, but that, finding the term Logos current in the Christian circle for which he wrote, he adopted it as the best available for his purpose. Wendt affirms that while Philo and the Fourth Evangelist conceive the Logos as personal, to the

Apostle John, who wrote almost the whole of the Prologue, the Logos is impersonal. Perhaps more proof is required for both parts of this assertion than Wendt has seen fit to furnish.

Wendt sums up by saying that the Fourth Gospel, as a whole, is a post-apostolic elaboration of apostolical tradition, Its character becomes intelligible if we assume that the Evangelist belonged to the circle in which John the son of Zebedee had lived to extreme old age. It was written after the Apostle's death, most probably in the first quarter of the second century. The author has worked into it many oral traditions regarding the evangelical history which the Apostle had communicated to the believers around him in Asia Minor. The Fourth Evangelist's chief purpose in composing the work was to publish the discourses of Jesus in a form suitable for use in the Church. But his secondary aim was to gratify the interest felt in the personality of John, and in doing so to make it clear that John had stood in a closer relationship to Christ than Peter. He also wished to correct an exaggerated and mistaken tendency in certain quarters to think too highly of John the Baptist.

From what has been said it is clear that Wendt occupies a mediating position among the critics of the Fourth Gospel. He does not reject the work as entirely spurious; on the contrary he acknowledges that there is a very considerable element of truth in it; but he is very far from admitting its authenticity as a whole. In holding that the discourses which the Gospel contains are a somewhat enlarged edition of a genuine Apostolic collection of Jesus' sayings, while the narrative has been supplied by a later hand, he is following in the track not only of Weisse, but of Schenkel, Schweizer, and to some extent Weizsäcker. It is obvious that the position maintained by these scholars runs counter to the conviction felt by nearly all students of the Johannine writings, whether conservative or critical, that the Gospel is above all things a unity, that it presents us with the spectacle of a perfect organic whole, all its parts possessed of a formal and material homogeneity, and the discourses inseparably conjoined to the narrative. Long ago Strauss said memorably that "this Gospel is itself the seamless coat of which it tells, and though men may cast lots for it, they cannot rend it," and something of the same impression of indissoluble unity has been received by numberless minds the most diverse in sympathy and temper. It can hardly be said that in the present work Wendt has succeeded in proving that impression mistaken.

Many of the arguments employed in this volume to demonstrate the secondary and composite nature of the Gospel of John serve to remind us that it is idle to speak as though by bringing back a few years the dates of the various Gospels the ultra-critical school had in effect conceded their historicity. The questions of date and historical fidelity they regard as almost entirely distinct. The conclusions of Baur and Strauss may have been modified, but in many respects their methods and standards of credibility are employed unaltered by their more recent successors. Wendt really admits no more than that the Fourth Gospel contains valuable material derived from apostolic sources. His method of dealing with particular passages frequently recalls the violent and unnatural procedure of the Tübingen school, as when he tells us (p. 224) that the Evangelist elaborated out of his own fancy the entire episode of the raising of Lazarus, in order to provide a historical setting for the words of Jesus which he found in his documentary source: "Thy brother shall rise again; I am the resurrection and the life". And while there are many stimulating and suggestive pages, while the argument is developed with a lucidity and consecutiveness which are worthy of all praise and render the reader's task most pleasant, it is impossible to lay down what may be called an attempt to bring the discussion of the Fourth Gospel into line with Synoptic criticism without a certain feeling of disappointment. Less subjective criteria will have to be employed, and the influence of the critic's personal equation abated, ere the movement of thought in the Fourth Gospel can be finally exhibited, or the secret of its origin laid bare.

H. R. MACKINTOSH.

# The Special Characteristics of the Four Gospels.

By H. M. Luckock, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 272. Price 6s.

#### Christianity as an Ideal.

By Rev. P. Hately Waddell, B.D. William Blackwood & Sons, 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 211. Price 3s. 6d.

THE volume by Dean Luckock on the composition and character of the Four Gospels is the outcome of a course of lectures prepared for the clergy of his diocese. The lectures attracted attention at the time of delivery, and in this revised and enlarged form they are now intended for wider circulation. As appears from the useful table of contents, the work consists of thirty short chapters, clearly written and arranged, and while readable and excellent in point of style, the various chapters, dealing with the special features of the Evangelists, are, in a considerable degree, fresh and suggestive in substance. In first dealing with the sources from which the Evangelists drew their materials, the author concludes that they had written histories as well as current tradition to fall back upon, and in course of time the Four Gospels came to monopolise the field by way of survival of the fittest. Dr. Luckock is liberal-minded enough to allow that while the Evangelists were selected and wrote under the supernatural guidance of the Holy Spirit, they were not reduced to passive instruments or pens, but were left free to represent the phase of Christ's life which seemed most striking and suitable to each writer, and which he made peculiarly his own. Inspiration, therefore, "did not interfere with the individuality of the writer, but left him free to follow out his own aim and purpose," and in certain matters of history which the Evangelists deal with incidentally, mistakes are possible and "we have no right to claim unerring accuracy". In succeeding chapters the Dean presents carefully and intelligently the leading features and peculiar teaching of each of the Four Gospels, and in a manner that will convey much interest and information to the general theological reader. Dr. Luckock is led to refer to the influence of Christian Art in giving rise, in some instances, to erroneous conceptions of the Gospels. and he devotes chap. xvi. to a forcible protest against the identification, favoured and stereotyped by Art, of Mary Magdalene with the "woman that was a sinner". Perhaps the only chapters in which the author is apt, like Christian Art, to give rise to misconception are those which conclude the volume, and which point to so much dogmatic and sacramental teaching in the Gospel of John. Dr. Luckock makes much of the natural emblems which have come to be associated with the four Evangelists, but we think that the peculiar High Church and Sacramental teaching drawn in these chapters from the Fourth Gospel would not have been quite transparent even to the eagle eye of John. In a footnote (p. 131), Dr. Luckock holds that the support given in the temptation was only physical, "for our Lord's Divinity precludes the idea of His needing spiritual strength". We doubt if this is part of the characteristic teaching of the Gospels, or if the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews would preclude this idea. On p. 135 (footnote), the author of The Divine Origin of Christianity is given as "Dr. Stone" instead of Dr. Storrs. There is little otherwise that calls for criticism or correction in this volume, which is valuable for its purpose and excellent in spirit and method.

The seven essays which make up Mr. Waddell's volume are offered in continuation of a line of thought previously attempted and "as a contribution towards a liberal theology". We are introduced to the fundamental thought of the book in the opening chapter, "The Ideal Postulated," where the author argues that religion or faith must start like science from a necessary postulate or presupposition, "namely, that

there is a final unity, a continuity of one principle throughout the universe, and a rational relation between the outer and inner worlds". In the next two essays, "The Ideal in Bondage," and "The Moral Ideal," it is shown that we are not to despair or lose sight of this final unity on account of inward dissatisfaction and opposition from the world. Man's happiness lies in keeping up the consciousness of the moral ideal within and in endeavouring to realise it in his outward conduct. The author deals thereafter with the course and progress of the ideal in Revelation, in Jesus Christ, and in the Church, and in the closing chapter takes notice of the changes brought about by the infusion of modern ideas, and especially by the application of the principle of evolution. Early and alien conceptions have had to be discarded or modified, and the religious and spiritual horizon is widening. is said, "pious faith is beginning to seek more than mere salvation," and even "in the most evangelical churches the appeal has gradually been changed, and the old note is awanting".

As we are led to expect from the titles of these thoughtful and cultured essays, the treatment is somewhat abstract and metaphysical. We could have wished that Mr. Waddell had looked more at the contents of the Christian ideal as it shines in the New Testament, and traced more fully its influence on subsequent history. Less employment of Hegelian categories and of the formula, "the final unity of all for thought," and a more concrete and definite mode of statement and illustration would have added to the interest and stimulus of the discussions. The volume is without an index, and we do not think it would be easy to provide one.

W. M. RANKIN.

## The Supremacy of Man.

By John Pulsford, D.D. London: Andrew Melrose, 1900. Fcap. 8vo, pp. xvi. + 309. Price 2s. 6d.

## The History of the Melanesian Mission.

By E. S. Armstrong. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 372. Price 10s. 6d.

In the "Books for the Heart" series we have a second of Dr. Pulsford's characteristic volumes—The Supremacy of Man. It is really a prose epic on the creation, restoration and ascent of man through Christ, the Reigning Head and final example.

In an excellent introduction, the design of the book is set forth. Nature is taken as a progressive revelation of God, culminating in Christ. Indeed Nature, Scripture and Man, are but different manifestations and approximate expressions of the Eternal Unity, of which the most complete realisation is Humanity. In the universality of creation the Original Unity shows its wealth, and this universality finally converges or gathers itself up in Man. He is the last crowning result.

So the First Cause must be Personal, for the last effect reveals the character of the First Energy. If the universe consummates itself in a thinking personal unity, then clearly it is an evolution from One Personal Intelligence. This Argument is divided into four books with their subdivisions.

The first book deals with "God and His Creation," discussing such questions as: (a) The possibility of a creation. "It is impossible that God should be and not create. He is under necessity to His own nature to create others who shall drink of the river of His pleasures." ( $\beta$ ) The character of creation. "God must have an order of creatures to whom He can make Himself known, . . . who shall be more than creatures—children to whom He can give Himself, and who shall be capable of knowing that He has given Himself to them." ( $\gamma$ ) This order of creation shall be principled in freedom and not in

necessity. His chief race must be spirits, free spirits, even at the peril of permitting the ground or possibility of disorder.

This leads to a most suggestive treatment of the Restoration of Man, viewed as the Original Plan redeemed from failure and carried out through the Incarnation. The fair Beginning returns with Increase. "He shall see of the travail of His soul and shall be satisfied."

The second book treats of God and His creation centred and expounded in man. There are chapters on the testimony of Scripture and then of Art, concerning God under the Appearance of Man. Under this head the relation of Christianity to Art is beautifully worked out. "Art commends, not counterparts and copies, . . . teaches us, not jejunely, what we are, but what we may be, when the Parian block yields to the hand of Phidias." There is no divorce between Christianity and Art. "Faith and Art have all the sympathy of mother and child."

This reconciling view of the Universe is gathered up in a dialogue—the penultimate division of the book—"The Playground of all the Forces"—Man the Beginning and End of creation.

The last chapter, "The Final Home and the Fruit Gathering," is an exposition of the grounds of Christian optimism, the assurance of hope not for the Church merely, nor only for the Elect Nations, but for the whole human race, wherein the First Generations are waiting for the Last. It is a plea for humanity; to unite the men of all nations in a high reverence for their common origin, and in a noble Christ-like sympathy with one another. A poet's vision—for John Pulsford was essentially a poet.

One may think he neglects the irreducible antagonism of the human will in his shadowless picture of the End of Ends, and that, in the conception of the limitless range of the will with which he started, is involved the possibility of disaster, irretrievable within any thinkable limits. But to say that would be merely to repeat the well-worn objection to all unrelieved optimism, that it is too facile, and that it fails in doing complete justice to the strain and the agony of the New Testament doctrine of Redemption.

Nevertheless, this is the rich book of a ripe nature, at once devotional, thoughtful and suggestive. Those who remember John Pulsford and his fragrant speech will find here a bouquet of his choicest thoughts. Such books and men are to be appraised by the mystic standard. "God has a few whom He whispers in the ear, the rest may reason—and welcome." Tis we musicians know."

The Melanesian Mission, whose story is so graphically told by E. S. Armstrong, was founded by Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand, and now celebrates its jubilee. The mission has all along been fortunate in having devoted and enthusiastic workers, and is fortunate too, in its historian. Personal acquaintance with the successive bishops of the diocese, a residence of ten years in New Zealand—the first base of the mission—and constant communication with the head of the staff during the years of development and expansion, entitle the writer to speak with authority on the various aspects of the work.

The field of the mission has certainly "ample room and verge enough". It extends over nearly a twelfth part of the circumference of the globe, and includes a hundred islands with as many separate languages or dialects. With pardonable pride the author emphasises "the importance of the fact that the development of so large a section of the world should have been in the hands of the great Englishmen who have freely given themselves, their powers, their strength, and in two cases, their lives for it".

The book follows the chronological order of grouping the details of the story round the names of the leaders in the work, from Bishop Selwyn to Bishop Wilson. The former has the credit of laying down the lines on which the mission has been worked. Henry Drummond once wittily hit off the scandal of sectarian rivalry in missions by speaking of a district in which the work was carried on by "Anglicans of every degree of height, Presbyterians of every degree of breadth, and Methodists of every degree of heat". Selwyn's Vol. X.—No. 6.

rules avoided this grotesqueness. He resolved "(1) Not to interfere with any Christian work already undertaken by any religious body or sect whatever, . . . so as never to bring before the islanders the great stumbling-block of divisions among Christians; (2) In taking to the natives the religion of Englishmen, they would in no way force upon them English methods and ways of life except in so far as they are part of morality and goodness".

On these lines remarkable results have been secured. Beginning with one solitary worker, the mission has now in its ranks, at its jubilee, nineteen English agents, 420 Melanesian lay workers, 210 scholars, and 12,000 native Christians. Apart from its thrilling missionary interest, and in this respect it is the book of the year, the History of the Melanesian Mission is a valuable contribution to the literature of the Kanakas question. The traders in human flesh were greater obstacles to the work than anything the missionaries had to encounter. It is unquestionable that Bishop Patteson, the martyr saint of the mission, lost his life through the animosities excited by the white "slavers". The volume before us is an ample confirmation of Sir Arthur Kennedy's report, who as Governor of Queensland wrote in 1881. have never concealed my opinion of the traffic in Polynesian savages, and I feel assured scandals exist which do not reach the public. The Polynesian labour-trade partakes of many of the evils both of the African slave-trade and the Chinese coolie-trade."

The author has done a good bit of work, and the book has a many-sided interest. It is a fine picture of Melanesia, it has many side-lights on manners and customs and curious folk-lore, and above all it is the record of an almost Apostolic success in bringing men to Christ.

It ought to be said that the publishers have done their part exceedingly well. With its map and excellent illustrations, clear type and ample margins, this is an ideal gift book and should be found in every church library.

#### Die Sprüche, erklärt.

Von D. G. Wildboer. (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T. Von D. Karl Marti.) 8vo, pp. xxiv. + 95. Price M.2.50.

#### Die Sprüche, übersetzt und erklärt.

Von Lic. W. Frankenberg. (Handkommentar zum A. T. von D. W. Nowack.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 8vo, pp. iv. + 169. Price M.3.40.

BOTH Wildboer and Frankenberg approach the study of the book of Proverbs from the same point of view. They accord it the same place in the literary history of Israel, and they agree on the conception of religious life it presents. They both agree that it belongs to a late period in the literature and religious development of Israel, though they differ as to the influence this is to exercise on an accurate interpretation of its contents. Wildboer believes, and rightly believes we think, that the knowledge of the date of a book must exercise a great influence in discovering the meaning and the purpose of its contents (Introduction, xi., xii.), and makes it his first duty to find the time of origin of the book of Proverbs. On the other hand, Frankenberg believes that, in the case of the book under review, a knowledge of its date can exercise little influence on its interpretation (Vorwort), fortifying himself in this opinion by venturing the statement that one of the best commentaries on the book of Proverbs is from one who accepted the Salomonic authorship-from Mercerius. They agree in their general division of the contents of the book, and in their view of the relation of the parts to one another, though Frankenberg boldly disclaims the introductory character of chapters i.-ix. He asserts they form an independent work, and one has but to look at the style and the aim of these

chapters, which are of a critical and argumentative character, to agree with him as to their independent character, but there can be little doubt, after all, that the purpose of this opening section is to prepare the reader for what follows, and whether we give it the formal character of an introduction or not, it certainly forms an introduction. Both accept chap. vi. 1-19 as from another hand, Wildboer inclining to the opinion that somehow these verses have come into the wrong place and dislocate the context (cf. chap. xxx.); Frankenberg assumes they are an insertion pure and simple.

It is no part of our purpose to attempt any comparative estimate of these two works. They have both outstanding features of great excellence. They often disagree in their appreciation of individual expressions and the meaning and purpose of separate sections; we do not, however, propose to assume the delicate taste of saying which is the better or the more reliable. Frankenberg is fuller and bolder, but also arbitrary in text emendation and exposition. Wildboer is a model of condensation and chastened scholarship and criticism; in a sentence, as clear as it is terse, he gives his conception of a difficult passage; there is no unnecessary amplification. Where the student can gather the context from a judicious use of other passages, that task is left to him, for Wildboer goes on the principle of allowing, or at any rate encouraging, a student to pick his own brains. Frankenberg delights to exhaust his theme, and is often unnecessarily diffuse. He has an exaggerated estimate of his own judgment and the fruits of his own study, and often betrays an uncharitable estimate of riper scholars, whose contributions to criticism and exegesis have made them public benefactors. But perhaps a richer experience of literary enterprise may enhance in his mind the value of the labours of those who have preceded him, and subdue the self-satisfaction with which he surveys the treasury of his own acquirements, and chasten the complacency with which he utters his "nicht zu verstehen," "unerklärlich," "unmöglich," and such like about the Hebrew text and the exegetical labours of his predecessors.

Wildboer treats us to an excellent introduction, the leading

chapters of which are "the Place of the Proverbs in Old Testament Literature," and "the Place of the Proverbs in the History of the Religion of Israel," both of which are skilfully developed and designed to confirm the position he takes up in regard to the date of the book of Proverbs. He makes it his task to show that the book took shape in the last part of the Persian period, and received its final touches from the redactor's hand not later than the beginning of the Grecian period. This is no new theory, to be sure—Stade, Kautzsch, Cheyne, Guthe, have taken the same ground. In harmony with this purpose, Wildboer endeavours to show that the language has degenerated from Hebrew purity and has been contaminated by contact with Aramaic, Arabic and Greek, and that the type of religion assumed in Proverbs, is no longer purely national and particular, such as we find in the Pentateuch, the historical books, Isaiah, or even 2 Isaiah, but is universal and individual. And on the whole, we believe he has made out his case. We do not accept his evidence as sufficient to meet every objection, and we believe that in the lexical part of his argument he would have strengthened his case by excluding a number of doubtful terms. But we must see what kind of proof is possible in this case. Wildboer claims that the book of Proverbs is a post-exilic work, but he does not exclude pre-exilic elements from it. There are proverbs that he concedes to be pre-exilic. When that concession is made, it is clear we cannot look for an absolute uniformity and consistency of view throughout the book. There must be passages that will show an older type of thought than prevails in the book generally, or that may refer to institutions that had come to an end, or usages that had ceased to be venerated, when the book was finally put together. What we mean will become evident, when we point out that there are several proverbs in different parts of the book that refer to "the king," e.g., xvi. 10, 12, 13, 14, 15; xix. 12; xx. 2; xxi. 1; xxix. 4. Some of them we grant may apply to any king, whether a Jewish king or not, and might therefore be apt in the mouth of a Jew at any time, but there are some we can scarcely believe any Jew could use in reference to any king of whom his people had experience in exilic or post-exilic times, e.g., xxi. 2. To urge, then, that Proverbs cannot be post-exilic because it contains references to a king who had no existence among the Jews of the later period, when the book was compiled, is to misapprehend Wildboer's position and contention, and is not a legitimate argument against his conclusions. The proverbs on "the king" came out of an earlier age, and were retained because the Jews had not abandoned hope of a continued national existence under a king—a king who might be none the worse of the counsels of the Proverbs.

But to come back to Wildboer's evidence. It is marshalled with considerable skill, not to say artistic beauty, when we notice how delicately he digs out the scanty memorials of Greek influence to give confirmation to his belief, that the Greek period was still young, when the book of Proverbs was finally revised. He gathers from the text a large number of late Hebrew and Aramaic expressions, some of which are to be found nowhere else than in Proverbs, and are thus presumably late, e.g., נטל xxvii. אינול xxix. בון xxix. בון others are to be found in late literature, e.g., קרת viii. 3, cf. Job xxix. 7; תונה x. 1, cf. Psalms cxix. 28; the late pl. אישים viii. 4, cf. Isaiah liii. 3, Psalms exli. 4; and the substantive termination in iii. 8, iv. 24, etc., but forms like אוֹנ xii. 12 (which Wildboer unnecessarily makes an Aramaic inf., and קדם (which Wildboer points as קבה Aramaic) are of doubtful validity and assistance, for in the first place, their value depends on the correctness of the suggested change, and in the second, their help is not needed when they come with doubtful credentials, seeing there is already a strong enough array of witnesses to support the writer's contention. Wildboer adduces v. 12, as an instance of the Aramaic use of the suffix before the noun to which it refers. We have assumed that he refers to עונותיו in v. 22, whose reference is to the following את־הרשע. Frankenberg has no hesitation in striking out את־הרשע on the ground that the words are clearly inserted to make the reference of the context clear. But Wildboer is certainly right in retaining them, for we cannot infer from v. 21 that the איש there spoken of is a רשע, and so את־הרשע is necessary for a just apprehension of the text. But Wildboer labours his argument too finely, when in order to show that Proverbs had not passed out of the redactor's hand before Greek influence had begun to play on the Hebrew mind, he adduces אמע xxi. 28, as equivalent to ἀκούειν in the sense of "to be known as ". The Massoretic text is confessedly difficult. Frankenberg has abandoned the translation of the second half of the verse as hopeless. But we believe Wildboer is misled in attaching so much importance to the Pesh. and the Targ. rendering of TED as "truth" or "credibility". In any case we cannot accept Wildboer's translation as either satisfactory or likely. What is the שמע the writer has in view? He is evidently not a witness (עד) 28a), but a listener (שמעי), and though the expression is rather bald, we are inclined to believe that the איש שמע is the man who will hear all kinds of evidence, and who has presumably at the same time the power of sifting it, and coming to a definite and fair decision upon it. That man, the writer seems to say, may always speak, his words will always be worth listening to. We cannot believe we have here in v. 28, any trace of Greek influence. The only adducible evidence to support any shadow of Greek influence is the word אטרן vii. 16, οθόνη, οθόνιον, occurring only here, and so presumably late. We have considerable hesitation in conceding that even the unusual length of the sentences in chapter ii. may be due to any acquaintance with Greek literature. The evidence is too scanty. The sentences may be long, unusually long, but their structure is simple, and not complex, and complexity rather than length is the feature of Greek style. Moreover, the book of Proverbs belongs to a new type of Hebrewliterature, which may at times have revelled in long rolling periods. We confess to a sympathy with Kuenen in holding that the book of Proverbs betrays no touch of Greek life and influence.

Wildboer now leaves the text and seeks the help of the context in supporting a late date for the origin of the Proverbs. He searches for the historical presuppositions and

the assumed usages of the book, tries to find the current of thought, and the views of life at the time of its composition, and any indications of change or advance upon past ages. The changes in society and public opinion to which he attaches value are briefly these: (1) the old prophetic struggle against idolatry is now over-amid all the incentives to good living and abiding prosperity, there is no reference to the abandonment of idolatry as a first condition of the divine blessing and temporal success; (2) monogamy is the current view and practice of life; (3) the law and the prophets are the foundations of all moral and religious teaching, and supply the texts from which the wise preach—they supply the principles that the wise reduce to short, pithy maxims that may linger in the memory and rule the details of everyday life; (4) the religious unit is no longer the nation but the individual, and the exclusiveness of Israel's faith has been supplanted by a universalism that promises to make the religious wealth of Israel the common property of the nations. These are considerable changes, some of which may at first sight startle us. But when Wildboer's evidence is weighed by those who are not wedded to any particular theory, and are not pledged to defend any particular cause, the only fault they will find they can validly and effectively urge is, that the vision is somewhat grand and vast, and that its outline is clearer, and its details richer in colouring and moulding, than the context and the history warrant. The oft-repeated maxim, the secret of life and prosperity, "the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom," shows that at last the aggressiveness and the persistency of the prophets had borne fruit in the unity of Israel's faith. There is no longer any indication of divided homage in Israel, as in Isaiah's days: xii. 4; xviii. 22; xix. 13, 14; xxi. 9; xxxi. 10 ff., all confirm the view that monogamy is the current practice of life. But there is so little evidence of polygamy subsequent to the age of Solomon, that we cannot say what amount of change-if any-had taken place in, and after, the captivity in this respect. Polygamy is so fertile a source of discord and dissension in family and state, that if Israel had suffered seriously from this blight, it

would have left its trail of malignant passions and burning jealousies in history. Still, as Wildboer reminds us, and calls us from the realm of probability to the world of fact, so late as the time of Deuteronomy provision was made by the law for the case of the man who had two wives (Deut. xxi. 15-17), so that polygamy was a possibility, whether it was a fact or not, in the seventh century B.C. The relation of the book of Proverbs to the law and the prophets, and the consideration of the type of religion it displays, will best be dealt with in connection with Wildboer's interesting and suggestive chapter on "the Place of the Proverbs in the History of the Religion of Israel" (Introduction xvii.).

The old religion was a people's religion (eine Volksreligion), and concerned itself only with the nation. The history of individuals, even pious and devout individuals, is not to be taken as an exposition of, or as a criticism upon, the religion of Israel. Piety and obedience saved the nation from misfortune and wreck; they did not always save the individual, and Israel was not disappointed in, or, at least, not alienated from, their God, if the nation survived, while the individual sank, puzzled with the mysteries of God's providence. Moses addressed himself to the nation, Isaiah and Micah tried to move the people—the pathetic "my people,"—Jacob, Zion to penitence or to faith, as the case may be. It was always the people, the folk as such. In Proverbs the nation as such sinks out of view; it is everywhere the individual and the individual's life and needs that are considered and provided for. Two or three passages, such as xi. 10, 14, xxix. 18, do indeed suggest a national or municipal outlook, but these are exceptional, and the change, says Wildboer, is an indication of a late date. The whole aim of the Proverbs is to communicate such instruction as will ensure the individual's wellbeing and safeguard him from evil, if consistently employed, and inasmuch as there is no evidence of such teaching and such a method of instruction up to the time of the captivity, Wildboer claims that both the teaching and the method are the products of post-exilic religion and life.

The goodness and the obedience of the nation could be

gained only by the goodness and the obedience of the individuals within it. So it may be argued. The religion of the nation was the religion of the individuals, and there could be no national religion without an individual personal religion. That may appear clear to us who have been bred in the atmosphere of individual responsibility, and under the fixed belief of the unity of God and God's regard of the individual. But in the pre-exilic age, and even up to the time of 2 Isaiah, there appears no final national conviction on either point, and so the audience of the prophet was the nation. It had yet definitely to chose its God, and the baffled or disgusted prophet nowhere turns from the nation to the individual to find a rallying point either for himself or for his cause. That would have been both unfaithfulness and cowardice. But when this is said, we feel that Wildboer has left the question in an unsatisfactory condition. What really is the change that has taken place in the religion of Israel, when we descend to particulars? Was there no individual personal religion in the earlier ages? Does not the "thou" of the Decalogue suggest a personal individual relation and responsibility to God? Is not the prayer of Hannah an evidence of individual religion? Is not the confession of David, "I have sinned against the Lord," an evidence of personal religion? And what is the meaning of Micah's counsel, "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good " (Mic. vi. 8), if a personal relation between God and man is not assumed? Was personal religion a possibility only to the prophets? Could they alone enter into a personal relation with God? Was it denied to the ordinary Israelite to taste in any measure the joy of Divine light and communion? On these questions Wildboer throws no light. And what was the exact religious gain in the individualism of Proverbs we have no means of estimating. The question is in urgent need of further consideration, which Wildboer may well give it in a second edition. The only thing of which we can be certain is, that we have in Proverbs a different method of teaching, in which the individual, and not the nation as such, is addressed, but the primary object of both the individual and the national method of instruction

is the same, the building up of a pure and just, if also a prosperous and successful, people. And in so far as this method of instruction has no place in the earlier history of religion, it is an evidence of the late date of Proverbs.

But what is this individual teaching? Whence comes it? It is imparted by parents (i. 8; vi. 20; xiii. 1, 13, 14, etc.) and by the "wise" (ii. I; iii. I; iv. 4; vii. I, 2, etc.) and perhaps also by the state, if we adopt Wildboer's application of xix. 16, which we consider quite unnecessary. The religious instruction is no longer given through definitely called prophets or leaders, but through a number of agents of whose life we know nothing. What guarantee is there of the correctness of their teaching? When we enjoin the young to adjust their life to the commands and the instruction of parents and elders, we have in view a standard of Christian instruction and living to which we expect both parents and elders will conform. And in the Proverbs we have a similar standard—the standard of the law and the prophets. In the Proverbs the existence and the substance of the law and the prophets are assumed, and nowhere is there anything that contravenes either, in spirit or in form (cf. ii. 17; xxx. 5, 6). The teaching of the "wise" simply reduces to practical maxims, such as a sanctified experience has suggested, the less obviously applicable general views and commands contained in the law and the prophets. Both מצוה and מצוה are employed in Proverbs in describing this instruction, but it is impossible to say that תורה is anywhere used exclusively in the technical sense of the law, so-called. Wildboer, indeed, asserts that in xxviii. 4, 7, 9 and xxix. 18, the reference is undoubtedly to the הורה socalled, but his contention cannot be maintained. In the commentary, indeed, he relaxes his boldness, for he admits that in xxviii. 4, תורה may mean nothing more than "instruction," and xxviii. 7b shows clearly that paternal instruction is in the writer's mind. Wildboer emphasises the following points of contact between the prophets and Proverbs: (a) the superiority of obedience to sacrifice (xv. 8; xxi. 3, 27; cf. Amos v. 18-27); (b) the danger of pride (vi. 17; xi. 2; xiv. 29; xv. 1, 4, 18, 25, 33; xvi. 15, 18 f.; xvii. 19, etc.; cf. Isa.

ii. 11-17); (c) the consideration of the poor, accompanied with a protest against oppression (xiv. 31; xvii. 5; xviii. 23; xix. 1, 7; xxii. 2, 7; xxviii. 3, 6, 27; xxix. 13; cf. Amos v. 11). When we remember that the Torah did not become canonical till the fifth century B.C., the result of all these converging lines of proof is to lead us to the conclusion with Wildboer, that the most suitable date for the book of Proverbs is somewhere in the fourth or the third century B.C.

The commentary combines insight with judgment, is clear and crisp in style, terse in language and sympathetic in tone. Wildboer worms himself into the writer's mind and situation. and often deftly extracts an excellent rendering from an unkindly text. תשבר (i. 23) Wildboer translates "turn round". We expect Wisdom to be here conciliatory, and she invites the audience of v. 22 simply to "turn" to her, and listen to what she has got to say, for she has something to offer, הנה אביעה (ii. 17) has nothing to do with any marriage bond or contract, as Wildboer points out, or with any religious ceremony performed at marriage (Frankenberg) (cf. Ezek. xvi. 8 ff.), but simply expresses the idea of religion or early religious training which bound the זרה or נבריה (v. 16) to God, and which has now been forgotten. Wildboer makes מרים (iii. 35b) the Hiphil part. in the sense of "to carry" (cf. תרומה), but suggests the reading כסילים מומר בקלון, giving an echo of Hosea iv. 7. The suggestion is ingenious, the meaning is suitable, but the idea a little far-fetched. But even so, would it not be better to read the singular כמיל? for we have a surplus consonant, and the plural form may have arisen from dittography. Wildboer inverts the order of the verses, iv. 18, 19, which improves the connexion. In viii. 20 there is no strong reason for preferring the Sept. rendering בית ; בין for בתוד or for treating בית as Aramaic for בית ; בית preserves a pretty figure. The meaning, however, cannot be affected, whichever be taken. In discussing viii. 22-31, Wildboer raises the question as to whether wisdom is a personification or a hypostasis, and in seeking an answer attaches too much value to the poetic language of exalted enthusiasm, or at least gauges it by too prosaic a standard. We believe there is here but the climax of a highly imaginative and poetical delineation of wisdom. But Wildboer thinks there is here, not merely a distinct advance in the character of wisdom, but a totally different view of its place and function in the world. It is no longer an inherent quality in man and nature, but a creation, a creature fulfilling a purpose in the creative activity of God, in producing the Kosmos. Wildboer warms so much to this view of wisdom that he describes these verses (viii. 22-31) as an important chapter of Jewish dogma in the post-exilic age, and the object of the writer appears to him to be no other than to bridge the chasm between the transcendent God and His manifestation in the world of phenomena (p. 25). Such an interpretation of the passage we believe to be both unnecessary and unsound. wisdom in these verses be no longer a personification, but a hypostasis, what relation do they bear to the rest of the introduction (chaps. i.-ix.)? They appear to us, then, foreign to the context, and destroy the literary structure and artistic character of the section. Wisdom, we are told, walks the pavements of the streets, speaks in the happiness and the success of the wealthy merchant and the comfortable artisan, is recommended even by the dissipated and ruined life of the profligate and the sluggard. She sits on the thrones of kings and in the courts of judges. She has a place in all phases of life and in all classes of society, and we are waiting to see the climax of her movements and actions in the manifestations of the divine life, when we are told we meet instead an important chapter of Jewish dogma, where we had no expectation of meeting dogma of any kind, but only poetry. No, we believe the figurative and poetic description of the universal and beneficent activity of wisdom is continued, and the peculiarly objective and personal character it is made to assume is to emphasise the fact, that from the very beginning of divine activity and life, God's actions have been marked with the same wisdom as manifests itself everywhere in the world. To suppose that the thread of the argument is here broken is to call us from the vision of the poet to the generalisation

of the philosopher, and to throw us into the thoughts of some later writer whose work has been here incorporated—but most inaptly. In xii. 12 Wildboer's treatment of the verse is neither happy nor apt. We do not share his opinion in requiring that רעים must be treated as a neuter substantive. and מצוד as an Aramaic infinitive. What would the plunder of "evil things" mean? The verse is confessedly difficult to understand and translate, but it appears to suggest that the wicked seek to live on the plunder of others, while the righteous find their own needs in their own activity. In that case there would be no need to change יתן into איתן. suggestion of Perles to read רעים is good, but still requires to be taken as an Aramaic infinitive, and not as a constr. state. To xx. 2b Wildboer gives the only suitable meaning, "to bring on oneself the anger of another," though is exceptional in this sense. משבת (xx. 3) is preferentially the infinitive of שני with מן, rather than infinitive מעלו (xx. 11) as "character" makes very good of חבש. sense, but is without textual support.

Wildboer's commentary, we repeat, is a model of condensed scholarship of the ripest and highest character, is full of suggestiveness and deserves the best study of the student of Proverbs. We have noted the following misprints: (Introduction, xiv.) v. 12 for v. 22; (Introduction, xviii.) xiv. 5, 18 f. for xvi. 5, 18 f.; page 4, בים for בים; page 28, Jes. for Jer.

As to Frankenberg's work, we confess to a feeling of disappointment with it, which we have some hesitation in expressing on account of its many merits, of which there is evidence on almost every page. There are independence of judgment, freshness, not to say boldness of treatment, critical acumen, searching analysis, fertility of textual emendation, wide knowledge of all relative literature fairly grasped and liberally used, if not always discriminately treated, but combined with these qualities we meet a certain inelasticity of mind, a kind of logical or mathematical restraint of thought that hampers the mind on voyages of discovery, when the text is somewhat of an unknown, or at least uncertain

country. There is a lack of sentiment and imagination, a dearth of literary feeling and sympathetic constructiveness by which the expositor often feels himself into the mind and the mental situation of the writer, when his language seemingly closes every avenue to his thought effectively. And what offends us more is the evidence of a certain satisfaction in the strength of his own judgment, and the boldness and the definiteness of his own conclusions, combined with a scant appreciation of names and services that have been long honoured in the history of criticism.

The introduction shows him at his best, in full command of the details of the book and the different currents of thought that move therein. The most interesting and fruitful chapters are those on Hokmah (הוכמה) and Mashal (כמשל) and their inter-relation, and on the translations of the Proverbs in the Sept., the Pesh. and the Vulgate.

JAMES GILROY.

## From Comte to Benjamin Kidd: the Appeal to Biology or Evolution for Human Guidance.

By Robert Mackintosh, B.D., D.D., Professor at Lancashire College. London: Macmillan & Co., Limited. 8vo, pp. xxii. + 287. Price 8s. 6d. net.

THE appeal to biology for human guidance has been pressed with great urgency in many quarters, and with increasing vehemence ever since evolution has become the working hypothesis of workers in all branches of science. To Dr. Mackintosh, as to many others, has come the call calmly and dispassionately to look at the appeal, to weigh its worth, and to discuss its validity. The attempt to weigh the worth of this claim has led him into many fields of study, to the reading of many books, and to much thought and reflection, and some of the results of that investigation we have in these pages. Dr. Mackintosh is well equipped for this task. An able and distinguished student of philosophy, well acquainted with the history of philosophy, and with the bearings of the great philosophical systems of the past and present, a student of science as well, and able to grasp the bearings of scientific speculation on the accepted beliefs of mankind, patient and persevering in his work, and able to put the results of his thought in a way easy to understand, he is a man from whom good work is to be expected. The starting point of his present work was apparently the perusal of the noted book of Mr. Benjamin Kidd on Social Evolution. As a matter of professional work, too, he had to study sociology with a senior class for two consecutive years. Having to study the work of Mr. Kidd, he found that he had to study those works which are presupposed by the assumptions made by Mr. Kidd. This led him back and back along the line of sociological study, until he found the beginnings of sociology, or

the appeal to biology for human guidance in the philosophy of Comte. Beginning with Comte he leads his readers down the line of the development of that conception till he arrives at Mr. Benjamin Kidd. As he says in the preface:—

The appeal to biology, outlined by Comte, newly defined and emphasised by Darwinism, has now been stated in the most extreme form logically possible. Mr. Kidd's book holds that significant position.

The book is thus a contribution to the history of philosophy, and specially an account of the growth of one particular leading conception. It is expository and critical. Dr. Mackintosh has made it his work to understand the positions and systems of the writers whose works he has set himself to expound and criticise. He is conspicuously fair in his expositions, and sets forth the positions in all their strength. After an introductory statement, in which he states the question, and points out that science offers to supersede religion as a guide to conduct, he passes on to a description and a criticism of Comte and his system, then to what he describes as Simple Evolutionism, represented by Herbert Spencer and Leslie Stephen, then to Darwinism, or Struggle for Existence, and finally to Hyper-Darwinism, represented by Weismann and Mr. Benjamin Kidd. These are the titles of the four parts into which his book is distributed. But this short description gives only a faint idea of the extent of his inquiry, or of the thoroughness with which it is conducted. In the course of his investigation he has had to deal with the writers who have sought to apply the idea and the method of evolution to all those sciences which deal with man as an individual, or as organised into a society. The number of these is great, and the most significant and the ablest of them are passed in review by Dr. Mackintosh. Thus we have brought under review Comte himself, then Spencer and Leslie Stephen, then men of such eminence as Bagehot, Professor Alexander, Huxley, Drummond, A. Sutherland, and finally Weismann and Mr. Benjamin Kidd. The most elaborate of all is the part which deals with Comte, and this is due to the historical position of Comte, and also to the fact that he was the first Vol. X.—No. 6. 35

to appeal to biology as a guide to human conduct. With great skill Dr. Mackintosh enables the reader to see the position of Comte and his wide significance for subsequent speculation. The result of a powerful statement is summed up as follows:—

In point of fact, we find ourselves under Comte's guidance, in a world of caprice. Biology gives him a parable of moral truth, not a law; history offers suggestions to the philosopher, but does not control his judgment; the ideal of altruism, of which he is the prophet, is an unproved and unsafe assumption. A brilliant and erratic man, he rode his hobbies hard, and threw the reins upon the neck of his fancy as he approached the details of conduct. If science is definite, measured, certain in its utterances, then Comte, in spite of his aspirations, is no true scientific leader for the human race (p. 59).

A brief statement of Darwin's theory of organic evolution is given, in which the three main elements of Darwin's theory find a fitting place. These are natural selection, sexual selection, and use-inheritance. It is admitted that natural selection is a true cause, but it is asserted that it cannot possibly do the work asked of it.

Its effects are minute; being minute, they will be immensely slow in achieving anything. A blind and indirect method of selection, by striking out all the unfit—by trial and error—is the most tedious method possible. If at every cross-roads I have to follow each track in turn, taking them as they come, going on in each case to the next town before I can learn whether I am in the right road, if I am wrong, coming back from the town to the cross-roads and trying the next track till I find a town upon it, and so forth, and so forth—plainly, it may take me all my days to work my way to my chosen destination (p. 65).

After some pertinent remarks on sexual selection and on use-inheritance, Dr. Mackintosh passes to the system of Spencer. He shows the difference between the problem of Darwin and the problem of Spencer: he states Spencer's problem, and subjects the solution of it to a stringent criticism, and demonstrates its inadequacy. We cannot recapitulate the criticism, it is too condensed for further condensation, but it contains a great deal in little space, and well deserves the close attention of the student. Much might be said of the chapters dealing with Leslie Stephen, with Bagehot, with Professor Alexander, with

Huxley and with others, had we space, but we must leave our readers to study these excellent chapters for themselves. We would direct special attention to the excellence of the chapter dealing with the work of Mr. A. Sutherland. While doing full justice to the worth of Mr. Sutherland's remarkable work, and while making full acknowledgment of its great merit, Dr. Mackintosh subjects its main positions to a criticism which is as destructive as it is fair and adequate. This, also, we must leave untouched.

We would like to dwell on the chapter entitled "The Metaphysics of Natural Selection". But here, too, Dr. Mackintosh's habit of intense condensation is of great inconvenience to his critic. We shall permit Dr. Mackintosh to speak for himself:—

We help each other by influence, example, magnetism, and inwardly we are drawn or driven to righteousness, partly by the bitterness of sin, partly by (not the pleasures of virtue, but) the beauty of holiness. The great inspiring personality who helps the multitude of little lives may be unoriginal and hackneyed in thought. It is the glow of spiritual goodness, plus a mysterious personal endowment, perhaps of the nature of sympathy, that constitutes greatness and efficiency in this department. But the worthy little men are quite as important as the leaders. . . Faithfulness is the greatest of the virtues, nor must we forget the stored wealth of the past in the form of moral institutions and traditions.

We have one proof of the all-sidedness of Jesus Christ in this, that He is both the supremely original teacher and the supreme personal influence. He so crossed the currents of dignity and respectability in His age that dignity and respectability, feeling what such men call the necessity of putting him to death, tried—strange behaviour!—to "eliminate" Him! Yet without strain or manifest extravagance the view can be advanced that it was His glory to put the great moral commonplaces into circulation as current coin. We go to Him for sweetness and light, He is the truth. We go to Him for transforming warmth, and He makes our cold ideals live, and melts our hearts (pp. 208-9).

Under the name of "A Fairy Tale of Science," Dr. Mackintosh sets forth the theory of Weismann, that theory which lies at the basis of Mr. Kidd's view of social evolution. It is a luminous statement, and the statement of the changes which Weismann has made, from time to time, on his theory is full

of interest, and not devoid of amusement for the reader. It is pointed out that Mr. Kidd, in building on the foundation laid by Weismann, has not observed the changes made by Weismann in the additions made to his theory.

Accordingly, when Mr. Benjamin Kidd builds his sociology on the absolute non-inheritance of acquired qualities, he is building on a rock, perhaps, but on a rock whose discoverer himself has undermined it and stored it with explosives.

Again, it is asked, whether where progress ceases you have in its place retrogression? This assumption is the second basis of the sociology of Mr. Kidd, and immense consequences are drawn from it, and yet the assumption is not justified by Mr. Kidd. Mr. Kidd lays the strongest possible stress on biology, and the main contention of Dr. Mackintosh, a contention which he makes good, is that such stress is illogical and unjustifiable. It is further shown that Mr. Kidd has a doctrine of reason which is utterly inadequate, and a view of religion which is untrue.

We quote a paragraph on reason, and with that quotation will finish our notice of this important book.

Every doctrine of "faculties" is to a large extent artificial. Reason and understanding shade into each other, however we may choose to contrast them. But, just on that account, the plain Englishman will find it hard to keep clear of the deeper and more mystic features of reason. He wants to be a practitioner of the simpler branch of the art. Well! the arts are not two but one. His own words will prove disobedient to him. Words are something more than the clothes of thought; they are its incarnation. We inherit words; we use them in our service, ennobling them, or, more frequently, debasing them; they lived before us, and they will long outlive our very memory. We are the fleeting shadows, they are the substance. Words are like homing pigeons; they will carry our messages, if we manage them wisely; but with an instinct surer than our choice-with an instinct not to be overborne by our caprice-they will go there, to that one point where each is at rest. If we take up the great task of the impersonal reason of mankind, it is in vain that we express our determination to keep clear of the transcendental or of the Logos! It is in us and we are in it; in it, or in Him, we live and move and have our being (pp. 248-9).

JAMES IVERACH.

## Notices.

Professor Emil Egli of Zürich publishes, under the title of Analecta Reformatoria, an important collection of documents bearing on Zwingli's life and his times. Among them are a number of papers now printed for the first time, including notes relating to the Disputation at Bern in 1528, letters addressed to Zwingli from the Diet of Augsburg by Bucer and others, the protocol of the Synod of St. Gallen of the year 1530, Vadian's disputation with Zili, etc. There are also various interesting documents of other kinds, which are given here with certain sections or additions which have not been printed hitherto. The collection is most carefully edited and admirably printed. It is an important contribution to the history of the Reformation in Switzerland, and makes a valuable supplement to the series of Zwingliana previously issued under the editorial care of Professor Egli. It is the kind of work that all students of history desire to see accomplished.

Mr. Walker's book on *The Spirit and the Incarnation* <sup>2</sup> has attracted considerable attention, and has been very favourably received. This is not more than it deserves. It is the work of an able and open-minded man, and it will help any one who reads it with care. This will be heartily said by those who give it proper consideration, whatever they may feel to be lacking in its discussions of some parts of the lofty subject of which it treats. It is no hasty production. It is the result of nearly a quarter of a century's thought. The writer does not claim too much for it when he speaks of it as representing "much hard labour and not a little dearly bought experience".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zürich: Zürcher und Fürrer, 1899. 8vo, pp. vi. + 164. Price M.5.6o. 
<sup>2</sup> The Spirit and the Incarnation, in the light of Scripture, Science and Practical Need. By the Rev. W. L. Walker of Laurencekirk. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. viii. + 388. Price 9s.

Its value and its interest lie, indeed, very much in the fact that it reflects the moods of mind through which the author has passed on the essential truths of Christianity, and shows us how he has come to clearness and certitude. For years he had difficulties, more or less serious and continuous, with the views of the religion of Christ which made his environment and in which he had himself been instructed. For a time he had lost all faith, as he tells us, in the ordinary evangelical conception of the Gospel. The course of study of which this book is the record made Christianity a living thing to him. He came back in this way to the evangelical conception with which he had been dissatisfied for a time. That is in brief the history of the volume.

It is obvious that a book written under these circumstances, and so much the reflection of personal experiences, must have a peculiar interest. And this makes itself felt all through. The writer was driven back upon the primary question—what is the really distinctive thing in Christianity, the new thing which it brought into the world of thought and faith? The answer which came to him was that this new and vital thing that makes the very essence of the Gospel is its revelation of the Spirit. The power of Christianity lay from the first in "the Spirit". Whatever else it may be or may include, Christianity is first and foremost "the Dispensation of the Spirit". It is "the entrance into the world, through Jesus Christ, of a new principle and power of spiritual light and life called 'the Holy Spirit,' 'the Spirit of God,' and 'the Spirit of Christ'."

So put, there is nothing very novel in the position advocated in the book. The special contribution which Mr. Walker claims to make is in the application of this to the Person of Christ and the Incarnation. He unfolds a doctrine of "the Spirit and its work, culminating in the Incarnation," as he explains it, "and again proceeding in greater fulness therefrom, including in it the actual presence and power of the living Christ, and of the Incarnation as the result of a process embracing the entire Divine working in Nature and in Grace (while at the same time the actual personal entrance of God

into our Humanity)". This, he thinks, is a view of the Spirit which has not yet been presented with sufficient fulness and distinctness, and it is along this line that, in his opinion, a Christian theology is to be constructed which shall at last do justice to both the Divine nature and the human in Christ.

This is Mr. Walker's theme. In developing it he is not always by any means clear. This is most felt in what he says of the Incarnation as a process. But he has the merit of opening up important avenues of thought, and his whole treatment of the subject is both reverent and suggestive. He says much that is of value on the revelation of the Holy Spirit in the Old Testament and in the New, on His "personal influences" and His personal presence and work. He has some far-reaching reflections on the Incarnation as a necessary result and yet free; on the relation of the Divine Sonship of Christ to our Sonship; on the immanence of God, on miracle, on the Church in relation to the Spirit, etc. Mr. Walker has done a real service to Christian thought, and he may do more hereafter.

The important series of lectures delivered last winter by Professor Harnack on the Essence of Christianity 1 are now to be had, we are glad to say, in book form. They excited great interest at the time, and drew an audience of some 600 students from day to day in the University of Berlin. They are printed now from a shorthand report taken as they were delivered. They are sufficiently popular in form to appeal to a much wider circle than the academic, while they give a scientific statement. It is good to have them in the German. It will be better to have them in an English translation. It will be a satisfaction to many to see that a translation is announced as in preparation.

There are many statements in the book which will not be accepted but by the adherents of a certain school. There

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Das Wesen des Christenthums. Sechzehn Vorlesungen vor Studierenden aller Facultäten im Wintersemester, 1899-1900, an der Universität Berlin gehalten von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: Hinrichs. Cr. 8vo, pp. 190. Price 3s. 6d.

are also some positions which it is difficult to adjust the one to the other. But it is always worth while having the opinion of a scholar like Harnack, and there is much in these lectures that will be helpful to minds disconcerted and in difficulty with regard to the claims and the meaning of the religion of Jesus Christ. He gives us here the results of much thought and lengthened research, clear of all the details and the stiff scientific terminology. He speaks also devoutly and with the tone of sincere conviction.

He takes us back to our Lord's own conception of Himself and His work. He finds this to be very simple. It is a curious circumstance that he attaches much importance to the dogmatic definitions of the Church, the great Creeds, etc., while at the same time he looks on the Logos doctrine, the definitions of the two natures in Christ, etc., as refinements that have obscured and misinterpreted the real contents of the Gospel. Even the doctrinal teaching of Paul and John is similarly regarded. What Harnack recognises as true is that Christ knew Himself to be Messiah, and to have the Father with Him and in Him. And the essence of His work is declared to be this—the impartation to men of that living conviction of the Fatherhood of God which He Himself had. What Christ did was to deliver a message to men which had three circles of ideas, viz., first, the kingdom of God and its coming; secondly, God the Father and the infinite value of the soul of man; and thirdly, higher righteousness and the law of love. His message, therefore, is entirely moral, in no sense dogmatic. It does not belong to its essence to inculcate any such doctrines as a Last Day and a Final Judgment, nor does it depend on miracle, not even on a historical resurrection. There were appearances, no doubt, of the Risen Christ, as the Apostles believed and affirmed. But it is impossible for us to understand these, even as they are reported by Paul, and to rely on them would be to "base our faith upon a shifting ground". The essential thing is that Christ overcame death. At the same time miracle is not peremptorily rejected. Harnack's attitude to the miracles recorded in the Gospels is to some extent indeterminate. He thinks that the fact that the Gospels contain so much miraculous incident, is not a just ground for rejecting them as historical authorities. There are miracles indeed which, he declares, we no longer believe and never again can believe. But there are others of a different order, e.g., "that lame men walked, blind men saw, and deaf men heard, we must not summarily dismiss as an illusion". Nay, more, the religious man cannot but believe that "the course of nature serves higher ends, that by means of an inner Divine force, it may be so used that everything shall serve the best".

Harnack's interpretation of the essence and meaning of Christianity is founded on the Synoptical Gospels alone. The Fourth Gospel is excluded, as giving a later view of Christ, and one in the formation of which "the writer has acted with sovereign freedom." And the Gospel which the Synoptists, who are the only real authorities, present is a very simple thing. It is a moral message, which stands apart at once from dogma, external Pharisaic rules, and social programmes—a gospel within the gospel, which makes love to God and to man the one ground for all action.

The present is peculiarly the time for a statement of the principles and general results of the Higher Criticism as applied to the Old Testament, and for an exposition of the Pentateuchal question in particular. We have reached a period when the novelty of the critical methods and conclusions has so far worn away, but when we also see on the one hand a disposition to carry things to extremes and on the other hand a considerable conservative reaction. Along with this, much has been made of archæology of late. There has been a tendency on the part of some, to make little of its results, while others have been tempted to place them in an unwarranted antagonism to the findings of literary and historical criticism. This is just the time, therefore, for an explanation and vindication of criticism, and for a fresh presentation of its main conclusions. The opportunity has been seen by the Society of Historical Theology in Oxford, and in their book on the *Hexateuch* <sup>1</sup> Messrs. Carpenter and Harford-Battersby have made timely and able use of it.

Of the two volumes the first is given to Introduction, the second to the text. Both are as satisfactory as well could be, in view of the aim and object of the whole undertaking. The text of the Hexateuch is given in its constituent documents. As it is exhibited here it helps us to see at once to what extent critics are practically at one in the arrangement of the matter of which the six books consist, and to what extent allowance has to be made for textual corruption, lack of material for continuous literary analysis, and difference of opinion. The first volume is of great value. Nothing could be better in the way of Introduction, in respect of clearness and caution in the statement of the various questions and conclusions, the selection of the points of view, and the general vindication of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament as a literary process that is in no sense peculiar, but simply applies to the literature of Israel "the principles of criticism which have long since been acknowledged as valid in other fields".

The earlier sections of Vol. I. deal with the ancient historiography of Israel, the claim to contemporary authorship, the use and progress of literary criticism as applied to the Old Testament, etc. What criticism discovers in the historical books of the Old Testament, is shown to be analogous to what we find in the old chronicles and laws of England, the literature of India, etc. The tradition which connects the name of Moses with the laws and history contained in the Pentateuch is carefully investigated in respect of its origin and growth. Justice is done to the importance of De Wette's work in the story of Old Testament criticism, and enough is given to enable us to see the great stages

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Hexateuch according to the Revised Version. Arranged in its constituent documents by Members of the Society of Historical Theology, Oxford. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, Marginal References and Synoptical Tables, by J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., London, and G. Harford-Battersby, M.A., Oxford. In two volumes. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900. Pp. xii. + 279, 359. Price 36s. net.

through which that criticism has passed—from its first emergence, its earlier literary form, the passing of the literary analysis into the historical, the elaboration of constructive theories, etc. The later sections of the volume deal with the history and characteristics of the various documents, the processes by which the separate documents were combined, the relation of archæology to criticism, etc. The last mentioned question is handled by Canon Cheyne. His statement is full of information, and is on the whole a reasonable and cautious review of the position. He shows how uncertain many of the results of archæological investigation yet are, and he is very restrained in his appreciation of the value of recent Egyptian discoveries.

There are things in these volumes to which exception may justly be taken. Too much is claimed by Professor Carpenter when he compares the position of the Biblical critic dealing with his documents, to that of the geologist dealing with his groups of rocks. The position of the former cannot be said to be like that of the latter in degree of scientific certainty or probability. But there is not much to stumble at in the view of the case for criticism which is given in these volumes. They are the best contribution yet made to the subject. All students of the Old Testament should have these masterly summaries at their hand.

A volume of his Letters 1 is a welcome addition to the Life of the late Master of Balliol. Messrs. Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell have given us a considerable selection, for which we owe them cordial thanks. The letters are of interest in themselves, and they will be valuable aids to us in forming an estimate of the singular character of Benjamin Jowett. They show us something of the secret of his personal influence and the impression he made not only upon Oxford and a long succession of pupils, but upon a wide circle beyond. They deal with a large variety of subjects—Church Reform, Educa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Arranged and edited by Evelyn Abbott, M.A., LL.D., and Lewis Campbell, M.A., LL.D., with portrait. London: John Murray. 8vo, pp. 262. Price 16s.

tion, Politics, India, Religious thought, Ecclesiastical movements, etc. On most things that engaged the public mind Jowett has something to say, always characteristic of the man, sometimes of not much moment, but usually shrewd and Among his correspondents we find worthy of attention. Dean Stanley, the Marquis of Salisbury, Sir R. B. Morier, Frederick Harrison, Miss Cobbe, Mrs. Humphry Ward, Lady Tennyson and many more. One gets here the Master's opinions on such celebrities as Cavour, Darwin, Tennyson, Louis Napoleon, Jane Austen, Robert Burns, Matthew Arnold, John Bright, T. H. Green, Bismarck, etc., etc. The letters on India, which deal really with the best training for the Civil Service in the East, are full of sound advice and sagacious remark which have their value for the present day. pronouncements on questions of theology are often indeterminate, but on some things, such as the gulf between clergy and laity in the Church of England, the attitude of the High Church clergy, etc., he has very definite opinions. The volume, which is a handsome one, has many interesting things in it.

Mr. T. Herbert Bindley, B.D., Principal of Codrington College and Canon of Barbadoes, publishes a very useful volume in his *Oecumenical Documents of the Faith*. The book gives the creed of Nicæa, the Three Epistles of Cyril, the Tome of Leo, and the Chalcedonian definition, in the original texts. Good historical Introductions are provided, and each document is supplied with abundant explanatory notes. The Nicene Creed is accompanied also by the creeds of Cæsarea, Jerusalem, Alexandria, Justin Martyr, Antioch, Epiphanius, and the Apostolic Constitutions. The whole is carefully done, and will be of much service to theological students.

Several additions have been made to the useful series of Books for Bible Students, edited by the Rev. Arthur E. Gregory. Professor J. S. Banks contributes a concise but useful and instructive sketch of The Development of Doctrine in the Early Church.<sup>2</sup> Much is compressed here into little space. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co. Cr. 8vo, pp. xii. + 311. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. viii. + 213. Price 2s. 6d.

account of Augustine and the Pelagian Controversy is particularly good. Mr. Herbert B. Workman, M.A., brings down the story of the Church of the West in the Middle Ages 1 from the death of Bernard to that of Clement V. He tells the story well, making use of the best authorities. He confines himself to the history of events, and does not include the development of doctrine. The sketches of the Fall of the Empire, the reign of Innocent III., and the Mission of the Friars are full of interest. The statements on the Fall of the Papacy and the things that contributed to bring it about are careful and discriminating. The book makes a very useful manual. Another volume that deserves a cordial welcome is Alfred S. Geden's Studies in Eastern Religions.<sup>2</sup> It is a sequel to his Studies in Comparative Religion, and deals with Brahmanism and Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. The author has acquainted himself with the best literature on these great subjects, and also with the religious and philosophical books themselves so far as they have been translated. He writes also in a clear and pleasant style. The result is a remarkably useful compendium which does not attempt to go into the deeper reaches of these systems, but gives a very good idea of their main levels and outstanding characteristics. Among other things which are very well handled are the idea of Karma, the difference between the Buddhist theory of re-birth and the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, and the different attitudes of Jainism and Buddhism to the surrounding Brahmanism. The volume makes a good first book for the study of these religions.

The third number of Dr. Erwin Preuschen's Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde des Urchristentums is to hand. It is a very good number. There are some very brief papers by Dr. Nestle and the editor himself which are of interest, among which is a concise account of the recent acquisition made by the National Library of Paris—

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. xv. + 322. Price 2s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: Charles H. Kelly, 1900. Small Cr. 8vo, pp. xi. + 278. Price 3s. 6d.

the splendid Codex aureo-purpureus Parisinus, with a text obviously like that of the purple MSS., N and  $\Sigma$ . is a judicious review of the Encyclopædia Biblica, and a communication by H. Achelis on a Gnostic grave in the necropolis at Syracuse. In addition to these we have two long and elaborate articles-one by W. Bousset on the "Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," and another by W. Soltau on the "Origin of the First Gospel". latter article takes special notice of the recent publications on the synoptical problem by Hawkins and Wernle, who are held to have demonstrated, as far as demonstration can be had, that our existing Mark, and not some earlier vanished Mark, is the fundamental document on which Matthew and Luke have worked, and that these Gospels had a second source in the Logia. Herr Soltau's object is to show that our first Gospel is not by one hand; that we must distinguish between the original work, the Proto-Matthæus, and a quantity of supplementary matter due to another hand; and that our existing Matthew is a second, enlarged edition of an older Gospel. Dr. Bousset's paper goes into a careful comparison of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs and the Book of Jubilees, and assigns them both to the period of the Maccabaan rule, most probably to the time of Alexandra or the first years of Aristobulus.

The tenth part of the eighth volume of the Babylonian and Oriental Record, edited by Messrs. St. Chad Boscawen and H. M. Mackenzie, contains two papers of peculiar interest. One deals with the "Romantic Side of the Talmud" (by Moses Levene). In the other Dr. L. C. Castarelli writes of the "Zoroastrian Theology of the Present Day," and prints a communication from N. M. Kanga, showing how modern Zoroastrian theologians approach the problem of physical and moral evil.

The thirtieth Fernley Lecture was delivered in Burslem in July last by Dr. Charles Joseph Little, D.D., LL.D., President of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. It is now published under the title of *Christianity* 

and the Nineteenth Century. 1 It begins with a somewhat rapid sketch of the Christianity of the Czar, the Pope, and the people, and then passes on to deal with the Christianity of experience, and what the author describes as the Leaven and the Lump. The lecturer carries us with him in the main, and never lets the interest flag. He does not take us far into the heart of things, but he makes many good remarks, and calls our attention to some features of the religion of our century that are of importance. His estimate of the meaning and power of the Reformation is one of the best things in the book. "The hidden root of the Reformation," he says, "was and is the attainment and paramount authority of a living experience of Christ in the soul of the believer". As to the theology of the Reformation he rightly claims that, "like the mechanics of Galileo, it started from experience". And in well chosen words he points out how soon theology became something different from that, and what it might have been with us now, if it had kept true to its beginnings.

A series of papers on the "Doctrine of the Atonement," appeared recently in the Christian World, in the form of a theological symposium. They are reprinted in a volume now with the title The Atonement in Modern Religious Thought.2 The contributors represent various churches and various countries. Three come from the continent of Europe, three from the American continent, and eleven from England and Scotland. The papers are of very different degrees of insight and helpfulness. Some are written mainly from a subjective or philosophical point of view; others with an admirable loyalty to Scripture. Some of them are vague and most remarkable for the repugnance with which they view the confessional doctrine; others are more definite and more conservative. Among the most satisfactory is one by the late Professor Fréderic Godet of Neuchatel—alas that we have to speak of him as "the late"! It is a real contribution to the subject. Other papers of value which take the more positive and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: C. H. Kelly, 1900. 8vo, pp. 96. Price 2s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. 376. Price 6s.

Biblical view of Christ's work are those by Dr. Dods and Dr. Forsyth. From different points of view the papers by Harnack, Sabatiër, T. T. Munger, W. F. Adeney, A. Cave, etc., are of interest. The volume will be of use as indicating in what respects the old ways of construing the Atonement have been left, to what extent the substance of the old doctrine is conserved, and in what directions the thoughts of divines who claim to be specially modern-minded have been travelling.

Mr. Stopford Brooke's study of Tennyson<sup>1</sup> has taken a foremost place among books of its kind. Much has been written on the late Poet Laureate, but nothing has appeared as yet that is on the whole so satisfactory. We know of only one book, that by Dr. Van Dyke, that we should place alongside of it so far as it goes, and even above it in the exposition of the religious teaching of the poet. Lovers of Tennyson have now the advantage of having Stopford Brooke's admirable work in two small volumes of the daintiest form, suitable for the pocket and surprisingly cheap. They owe this to the taste and enterprise of Messrs. Isbister & Co.

Dr. Orello Cone edits a series of essays on Evolution and Theology<sup>2</sup> and other subjects by Professor Otto Pfi derer. The most important, perhaps, is the one that gives the title to the volume. There are others little less important on "Theology and Historical Science," "The Essence of Christianity," and "Luther as the Founder of Protestant Civilisation". There are also interesting papers on "The National Traits of the Germans as seen in their Religion," the "Task of Scientific Theology," "Jesus' Foreknowledge of His Sufferings and Death," "Is Morality without Religion possible or desirable?" etc. They are all written in the clear and pointed style which has gained for Professor Pfleiderer so eminent a position as lecturer and expounder. No one can miss his meaning.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Tennyson, his Art and Relation to Modern Life. By Stopford A. Brooke. In two volumes. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Pp. 254, 253. Price 2s. 6d. net each.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Evolution and Theology, and other Essays. By Otto Pfleiderer, D.D. Edited by Orello Cone. London: A. & C. Black. Cr. 8vo, pp. Price 6s.

These essays have nothing that we do not find in the writer's larger works. But they show him in his lighter vein as well as in his more serious, and they give us a good general view of his ways of thinking. Above all they present in vivid, popular form his conception of Christianity and his idea of the methods and results of an evolutionary theology. We see here what kind of thing the evolution is to which he attaches himself, how it differs from the evolution that is advocated by others, and in what sense it is related to the Divine Logos and means the creating, purposeful, regulating thought of God. We see, too, how by the exclusion of miracle, whether as nature-miracle, or as spirit-miracle, he comes into difficulty and inconsistency in his account of Christianity, and to how little, comparatively speaking, he is under the necessity of reducing it. The book is of much interest for the insight which it gives us into the working of an acute mind earnestly occupied with the great questions of religion.

It is difficult to express oneself satisfactorily on such a book as Dr. Percy Gardner has given us in his Exploratio Evan ica. He describes it as a "brief examination of the basis and origin of Christian belief," and presents it as "essentially the work of a layman". He intends it to be neither destructive nor primarily constructive, but critical and "of the nature of Prolegomena". It has all the attractions of a well-written and ingenuous book, one in which the writer discloses very frankly the extent to which he has "felt the stress of the revived interest in the problems of theology and science which marks our age and country"; the difficulties which he has experienced; and the methods by which he has reached conclusions which seem to him to strike the proper balance between old ideas and new science.

It is impossible not to feel sympathy with much that Dr. Gardner says. He says indeed many good and true things, and many more which, though of very doubtful foundation,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Adam & Charles Black, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 521. Price 15s. Vol. X.—No. 6.

carry you on almost in spite of yourself. Yet the criticism at the basis of all is nothing more penetrating than that of Matthew Arnold or that of Amiel. On "Christian Miracle" and such subjects we get only what we are very familiar with. Again and again, indeed, Dr. Gardner surprises one by the way which he revives solutions of difficulties in the Gospels and elsewhere which have been refuted over and over again, and supposed by most to have given place to other methods of explanation. The main attempt of the book is to "transfer the burden of support of Christian doctrine from history to psychology". All the chief doctrines of Christianity are considered anew in this point of view, and psychological readings of them are devised which are supposed to relieve them of difficulty and present them as reasonable. But we cannot say that this is done with any large measure of success. The book, nevertheless, has many sensible and even brilliant things. It sets the mind a thinking in new directions, and it leads one to suppose that its writer may have something more definite to say by and by on certain things which he leaves very indeterminate here.

The Rev. Arthur Wright publishes a volume on The Gospel according to S. Luke in Greek, which makes a very useful supplement to his former book on the Synopsis of the Gospels. It gives the third Gospel according to the text of Westcott and Hort, and accompanies it with parallels, illustrations, various readings and notes. The volume is admirably printed and will be of much use in studying the problem of the Gospels, especially in the class-room. It will both guide and stimulate inquiry, and will no doubt help to direct attention anew to the questions connected with Luke's Gospel. The critical notes are concise and always to the point, and the whole work is prepared with great care.

Calvinism<sup>2</sup> is the title given to a course of lectures by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Macmillan & Co., 1900. 4to, pp. xl. + 230. Price 7s. 6d. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Amsterdam-Pretoria: Höveker & Wormser; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 8vo, pp. 278. Price 4s.

Professor Kuijper on the L. P. Stone Foundation in Princeton, N. J. They are not particularly well printed or got up, but they are of much interest in themselves. Professor Kuijper discourses, with much eloquence and with abundant command of facts, of Calvinism as a life-system, of what it has been and is capable of being to religion, politics, science, and art, and of its future. He writes with enthusiasm, and gives an estimate of Calvinism, its nature and its service to the Church and to the world, which will present the system in a new light to many readers. The strength of the book lies in its constant appeal to historical facts. It is far from being a doctrinaire book. It makes out a strong case and puts it brilliantly.

The well-known and interesting Life of Dante, by the Dean of Wells, appears in the charming form in which the Dean's edition of the great Florentine's poems is re-issued. The Life is given substantially as before, but with some curtailments due to the progress of inquiry since it was published fourteen years ago. It is carefully edited by one very competent to do such work. It is a pleasure to have it in this most handy and tasteful form.

The second volume of the large and important study of Christian Missions and Social Progress,<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. James S. Dennis, D.D., deals with two topics. These are the "Dawn of a Sociological Era in Missions" and the "Contribution of Christian Missions to Social Progress". It is a heavy task to which Dr. Dennis has committed himself. It is nothing less than to "collate the manifold results of modern missions, and to present in an orderly and comprehensive survey their bearings upon social progress". He has overtaken now two-thirds of that task, and has done it well. It is a most informing work.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By the late E. H. Plumptre, D.D., Dean of Wells, edited by Arthur John Butler, author of *Dante and his Work*. London: Isbister & Co., 1900. Pp. 252. Price 2s. 6d. net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1899. 8vo, pp. xxvi. + 486. Price 10s. 6d.

Dr. Rigg's Oxford High Anglicanism and its Leaders, when it was published in 1895, was recognised as an important contribution to the study of a chapter in the ecclesiastical history of England, which is likely long to retain its interest. We are glad to see it in its second edition, revised and enlarged. The religious movement of which it treats is one containing so many elements and occupying so remarkable a place in the history of our time, that it requires to be looked at from several distinct points of view. Only thus can it be understood, and Dr. Rigg's study of it from the side of Wesleyan evangelical faith is one of unmistakable value. That value is enhanced by the additions made in this new issue. We have a supplementary chapter which sketches the course events have taken, especially in the direction of reaction against Romanising ritual, since 1895. Two appendices also are given, which deal respectively with the Primate's charge on consubstantiation and with correspondence relating chiefly to Newman, Pusey and Manning. ability and calmness of the Archbishop's charge are fully acknowledged. But the position taken up by him on the cardinal question of the Eucharist is pronounced "peculiarly unfortunate," both in view of the fact that the English Reformers certainly disavowed both transubstantiation and consubstantiation, and because the Lutheran divines, "while professing to hold a certain metaphysical doctrine of consubstantiation, have so taught that doctrine as not to involve the consequences stated, and justly stated, by Archdeacon Taylor, as necessarily flowing from the Neo-Anglican doctrine of consubstantiation". With this most theologians outside the Anglican Church will agree.

We have received two volumes of a new series of studies of the various books of Scripture, to be known as *The Messages of* the Bible. It is edited by Professors Frank Knight Sanders of Yale University and Charles Foster Kent of Brown University,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> By the Rev. James H. Rigg, D.D., Principal of Westminster Training College. Second edition. London: Charles H. Kelly, 1899 8vo, pp. xvi.+425. Price 7s. 6d.

and is to consist of twelve volumes of moderate size, handy form and modest price. It promises to be a very useful and scholarly series. The two volumes now to hand cover the prophetic books of the Old Testament; the first volume giving The Messages of the Earlier Prophets 1 and the second The Messages of the Later Prophets.2 Both are by the editors, Professors F. K. Sanders and C. F. Kent. The idea of the series is to arrange the writings in the order of time, analyse them, and render them in paraphrase. "The paraphrase aims at giving the thought in the clearest possible terms, and, as far as may be, in the language of the present day, so that the unlearned reader may fully understand the message of the writer." Introductions dealing with the general character of the writings are furnished, and the critical positions of the most reliable scholars are adopted. The first of these two volumes, therefore, begins with Amos and Hosea, and takes up in succession the earlier prophetic activity of Isaiah, the message of Micah, the later prophecies of Isaiah, the messages of Nahum and Zephaniah, Jeremiah's prophetic activity during the reign of Josiah, the message of Habakkuk, Jeremiah's activity during the reign of Jehoiakim, and finally the same prophet's work during Zedekiah's reign. The second volume carries on the story of prophecy through Ezekiel, Obadiah, Isaiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Joel, Zechariah (ch. ix.-xiv.), Jonah. Jeremiah comes in again here (ch. xiii. 8-xiv. 30), and bits of Isaiah are scattered here and there throughout the volume as is the present fancy. The chronological order is open to challenge at various points, but it is not dogmatically given, nor is it asserted to carry with it, all uncertain as it is, serious doctrinal consequences. The authors have carried out their idea with a large measure of success.

Mr. W. Rhys Roberts, Professor of Greek in the University College of North Wales has done a very good bit of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Sm. 4to, pp. xv. + 304. Price 3s. 6d.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> London: James Clarke & Co., 1899. Sm. 4to, pp. xx. + 381. Price 3s. 6d.

work in his edition of Longinus on the Sublime. His previous work on the Ancient Boeotians won him much credit in America and on the Continent of Europe as well as at home. This new effort will add to his reputation. The Greek text is carefully edited after the Paris manuscript. It is accompanied by a translation which is not only correct but very readable. An ample Introduction is furnished, facsimiles are given, and there is a series of Appendices, textual, linguistic, literary and biographical, which omit nothing that is of any importance for the appreciation of the treatise. The volume, the author tells us, has been in preparation "for some years in connexion with a larger undertaking, A History of Greek Literary Criticism, or An Account of the Literary Opinions of the Greeks during the Classical, the Alexandrian, and the Graeco-Roman Periods". It bears witness to the extent and thoroughness of the writer's studies, his trained judgment, and his capacity for historical investigation and literary interpretation. The bibliography, which is very complete, is full of interest. The explanatory notes on terms have much that will be helpful to students of later Greek. Carefully compiled indices add to the usefulness of the book. The chapters on the authorship of the work and its contents and character are models of clear, cautious and convincing discussion. Professor Roberts refers to the fact, so singular in view of the later fortunes of the book, that this remarkable treatise is "not quoted or mentioned by any writer of antiquity". His own judgment of its merits is given briefly at the close of the Introduction. He pronounces it, taken as a whole, "the most striking single piece of literary criticism produced by any Greek writer posterior to Aristotle". Among its great qualities he mentions its noble tone, its apt precepts as to style, and its judicious attitude to fundamental questions, such as those of "the errors of genius," the standard of taste, the relation of art to nature and of literature to life". Its value for the modern world lies chiefly, he thinks, in two things, viz., that it reminds us

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Cambridge: University Press, 1899. 8vo, pp. x. + 288. Price 9s.

that there is a "real continuity in the principles of criticism," and that it is well adapted to "form an aid to the systematic study of Greek literature," especially by the impression it produces of the enjoyment due to that literature.

Dr. James Houghton Kennedy of the University of Dublin, to whom we owe the Donnellan Lectures of 1888-9, writes an able and interesting volume on The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians. 1 Dr. Kennedy takes up the line of inquiry followed by Semler, Hausrath and others, and more recently by Schmiedel. But his work is entirely his own. He neither pursues the same course nor uses the same arguments as these. While agreeing with them in the broader aspects of the case, he puts many things in quite a different way. He first sets himself to show that the epistle known to us as I Corinthians must have been written about a year earlier than the spring in which Paul left Ephesus, and that, therefore, it cannot be the "painful letter" referred to in 2 Cor. ii. 4. In this he has considerable support among scholars. But his task is more difficult when he proceeds to establish the position that we find that epistle, or large part of it, in the last four chapters of our 2 Corinthians; and consequently that these chapters make the original second epistle, while the earlier chapters of our 2 Corinthians form the third epistle. It is impossible to go into the details of Dr. Kennedy's reasoning. It must suffice to say that it turns not merely on the apparent dislocation between the two parts of our 2 Corinthians, but upon the order and coherence which his hypothesis introduces, and upon the tenses in the statements made in the paragraph of the present second epistle in which Paul speaks of the missing letter. Dr. Kennedy's argument is developed with much acuteness, and demands consideration.

Canon J. H. Bernard, of Trinity College, Dublin, contributes the volume on *The Pastoral Epistles*<sup>2</sup> to the *Cambridge* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> London: Methuen & Co., 1900. Cr. 8vo, pp. xxviii. + 202. Price 6s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cambridge: University Press, 1899. Sm. cr. 8vo, pp. lxxviii. + 192. Price 3s. 6d.

Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges. It is worthy of its place in this scholarly series. The exegetical notes are very carefully done, and are sufficiently full without being overloaded with detail. The introduction handles the literary history of these epistles, their place in Paul's life, their style and vocabulary, etc., with much ability. Dr. Bernard regards the documentary evidence, of which he gives a good summary and discussion, sufficient to throw these Pastorals back into the first century, and to compel us to conclude that, if they are not by Paul, they must have been forged in his name and accepted on his authority all over the Christian world, within fifty years of St. Paul's death-within twenty-five years if we accept the testimony of Clement of Rome. There is a special chapter on "Bishops and Presbyters in the Primitive Church," in which Dr. Bernard argues for these positions, viz., that the Episcopate and the Presbyterate were distinct in origin and in function; that the bishops were originally selected by the presbyteral council; that there were often several bishops in one place; and that a "conspicuous part of the bishop's duty was the administration of worship". At several points he has to meet the reasonings both of Lightfoot and of Hatch, with only partial success.

The Theologisk Tidsskrift, ably edited by J. O. Andersen, C. E. Floystrup and F. E. Torm, and published in Copenhagen, deserves the attention of those interested in Danish religious thought. In the part now before us, the fourth part of the first volume, they will find articles worth reading on the Sirach question and on Jülicher's work on the Parables.

The eleventh volume of the Expository Times 1 is before us. Under the discerning editorship of Dr. James Hastings this magazine makes itself a welcome visitor in many a study. The qualities which have won for it deserved success are as conspicuous in this volume as in any other. We wish it increasing acceptance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. Pp. viii. + 568. Price 7s. 6d.

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